

CONFIDENTIAL.

(4568.)

PART I.

---

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF NORTH AFRICA.

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March to June 1881.

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## CONFIDENTIAL.

## Correspondence respecting the Affairs of North Africa: 1881.

## No. 1.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received March 4.)

(No. 22.)  
My Lord,

Tunis, February 24, 1881.

FOR some days past reports have been current here of conflicts on the frontier between tribes of the Algerine and Tunisian States. According to an account published by the Havas Agency, the Tunisians crossed over into Algeria and killed some French subjects, while, by another and more generally credited version, the Algerines were the aggressors.

From what I have been able to gather, some disturbance of the kind mentioned did in reality occur on the frontier, but it was a matter of little consequence, originating in the robbery of two mares, and ending in a fight in which two Algerines and four Tunisians lost their lives.

While the above reports were in circulation, and an importance was being attached to them which the circumstances did not certainly merit, M. Roustan took occasion, at an audience he had with the Bey, to put forward a series of charges against the administration of the Governor of Keff, who is the chief Tunisian authority of the frontier district in which the disturbance to which I have referred took place. The grievances M. Roustan complained of he put forward on behalf of certain of His Highness' own subjects, who, he alleged, were treated by the said Governor with great injustice and cruelty, and had suffered more particularly from the frequent and illegal extortions of money to which they are exposed.

Sy Reshid, the authority against whom these accusations are made, has the reputation of being one of the most intelligent and just of administrators. The post he occupies is one of considerable difficulty and importance, in consequence of the relations which he has to keep up with the French officials with whom he has so frequently to deal. A less energetic or trustworthy subject would probably fail to maintain the dignity and independence of his master, and might even become a tool in the hands of his powerful neighbours for the attainment of their political ends. It is not, therefore, surprising that, as in the present instance, efforts should be made to bring about Sy Reshid's downfall.

The Bey repels M. Roustan's charges as unfounded; but I have nevertheless, at His Highness' request, consented to send a confidential messenger to the frontier to obtain, for my own satisfaction and as a neutral party, more positive and authentic particulars as to the actual state of things in that part of the Regency.

The cost of this special Mission to the frontier will not probably exceed 10*l.* or 12*l.* sterling, and I trust I may count on your Lordship's sanction to incur it on behalf of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

## No. 2.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 16.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, March 11, 1881.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 22 of the 24th ultimo, informing me that, in consequence of reports being current that conflicts had taken place on the frontier between tribes of Algeria and Tunis, you had, at the Bey's request, sent a confidential messenger to obtain authentic particulars as to the actual state of things; and I have to point out to you that you should have applied for the necessary authority before taking such a step in a matter which does not concern British interests.

I will not disallow the cost of the messenger's journey, as it has been paid by you, but you will bear in mind that expenditure for such purposes is not to be incurred in future without the previous sanction of the Foreign Office.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 3.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.\**(No. 126.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, March 16, 1881, 5.25 P.M.*

A NEWSPAPER telegram states that the French have invaded Tunis, and Sir S. Northcote has asked about it in the House. Is there any truth in the report?

## No. 4.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received March 17, 11 A.M.)*(No. 27.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, March 17, 1881, 8.30 A.M.*

FRENCH Minister for Foreign Affairs informs me that the report of the invasion of Tunis by the French is absolutely false.

## No. 5.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received March 17.)*(No. 15.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Tunis, March 17, 1881.*

THERE is no truth whatever in the report of French invasion of Tunis and seizure of a Tunisian port.

## No. 6.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received March 24.)*(No. 28.)  
My Lord,*Tunis, March 17, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a cypher telegram to the following effect:—

The report (referred to in your Lordship's telegram No. 13 of yesterday's date) that the French had invaded Tunis and seized a Tunisian post is without foundation.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

\* Also to Mr. Reade (No. 13).

## No. 7.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received March 29.)*(No. 32.)  
My Lord,*Tunis, March 23, 1881.*

THE revival of rumours which, three months ago, were so rife, respecting an alleged intention on the part of France to invade this Regency militarily, and the menacing tone of the French newspapers, have not failed to create a feeling of uneasiness at this place, which I am officially requested by His Highness the Bey to bring under your Lordship's notice.

Havas' telegram of yesterday (of which a copy is herewith inclosed) and the publication of an address which was lately presented to M. Roustan by certain of the subjects under his jurisdiction (of which I beg also to transmit a copy herewith) have also added much to the general excitement.

The extraordinary pressure which is now brought to bear upon this Government is probably got up with a view to restore, if possible, the loss of prestige which has attended the failure of projects which M. Roustan has either himself put forward or officially supported. Be this, however, as it may, the effect of this combined demonstration and the alarming rumours upon the public mind in Tunis is very pernicious, and I trust I shall be pardoned for suggesting that such measures may be taken as will tend to allay the uneasiness to which I have referred.

It will be remarked from the enumeration of the various commercial and other undertakings which are mentioned in the Roustan address as having been carried into effect by Frenchmen and with French capital, that, as a matter of fact, the French has been a more favoured nation than any other.

For the restoration of the Carthage aqueduct the Bey, I believe, paid two or three times more than the value of the work done. The administration of the telegraphs has also been a source of considerable profit to them.

Far, however, from being entirely in their hands, the postal service in this country is at least shared with the Italians, whose establishment is of older date than the French.

The complaints recorded against the Bey's Government are, if not altogether unfounded, enormously exaggerated.

His Highness has, I understand, this day addressed a formal letter to M. Roustan, protesting against the imputations of which he and his Government are the object.

The reference made in M. Roustan's reply to the "pavillon menacé," has excited surprise, no less than his appeal to those of the French colony who signed the address as being the parties best qualified and competent to pronounce a judgment on his proceedings.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 7.

*Telegram published by the Havas Agency.**Paris, le 21 Mars, 1881.*

JOURNAL "Débats" constate campagne contre influence Française Tunis ardemment poursuivie, demande qui paye les journaux Arabes imprimés Sardaigne prêchant haine France tribus Tunisiennes Algériennes; rappelle adresse remise Roustan par colonie Française, croit cette démonstration suffit pas, mais il y a heureusement autres arguments, et suffira que Ministres Bey soient persuadés, ou hésitera pas les employer au besoin pour que reviennent plus saine appréciation.

Inclosure 2 in No. 7.

*Extract from the "Seybouse," an Algerine Newspaper, of March 18, 1881.*

MANIFESTATION À TUNIS.—Lundi dernier, 14 Mars, les Français en résidence à Tunis et les étrangers placés sous le Protectorat de la France se sont rendus à l'hôtel de notre Consulat Général et ont remis à M. le Ministre Roustan, Chargé d'Affaires de France, une superbe coupe acquise des fonds d'une souscription ouverte chez nos nationaux.



En offrant cet objet d'art à M. Roustan, le premier Député de la nation a prononcé le discours suivant :—

"M. le Ministre,

"Les Français et protégés Français, établis dans la Régence de Tunis, vous offrent cette coupe ; veuillez l'accepter comme un témoignage unanime de leur vive sympathie et en souvenir des services que vous n'avez cessé de rendre à la colonie.

"Ils ont tenu à honneur, aux jours difficiles que nous traversons, d'affirmer leurs sentiments de haute estime pour le digne Représentant de la République.

"La situation s'est bien modifiée depuis quelque temps en ce qui concerne nos rapports avec le Gouvernement Local.

"L'opposition plus ou moins déguisée faite par le Gouvernement Tunisien à l'acquisition de toute propriété par des Français ; les obstacles mis par ce même Gouvernement à l'exécution des Concessions déjà obtenues par des Compagnies Françaises ; les difficultés, pour nos nationaux, d'obtenir justice au Bardo, dans leurs différends avec les sujets indigènes ; les insultes et les actes de violence, contre les personnes et contre les propriétés, commis sur notre frontière et qui demeurent impunis, constituent un ensemble qui motive notre légitime inquiétude.

"De son côté, la France avait toujours été, avant la conquête de l'Algérie, la plus ancienne comme la plus fidèle alliée de la Régence de Tunis, et, depuis cinquante ans que cette conquête est accomplie, elle a toujours suivi, vis-à-vis de la Tunisie, une politique de désintéressement, en s'appliquant à la protéger contre toute ingérence étrangère et en s'efforçant, par son industrie et par ses capitaux, de la mettre au niveau du progrès et de la civilisation.

"Nous n'avons, pour l'établir, qu'à choisir parmi les œuvres bienfaisantes dont notre pays a doté successivement la Tunisie.

"La restauration de l'ancien aqueduc de Carthage, qui a été accomplie par des capitaux, des entrepreneurs, et sous la direction d'ingénieurs Français ; l'établissement du télégraphe Français dans toute la Régence ; l'organisation du service postal ; la construction de 200 kilom. de chemins de fer traversant les plaines les plus fertiles du pays et les mettant en communication avec Tunis et l'Algérie ; la création d'une Banque de Crédit qui a considérablement abaissé le taux de l'intérêt et facilitera le développement de l'agriculture, du commerce, et de l'industrie, sont autant de créations Françaises.

"Et si l'influence d'une nation sur un autre pays ne se mesure pas seulement au nombre de ses nationaux qui y résident, mais à l'importance des intérêts qu'elle y a établis, la France est sans rivale possible en Tunisie.

"Nous avons, en effet, par l'Algérie, 300 kilom. de frontière commune avec la Régence. Il y a en France pour 100,000,000 de la dette Tunisienne qui s'élève, au total, à 125,000,000. Nous avons, depuis deux siècles, le privilège exclusif de la pêche du corail sur les côtes de la Régence, depuis l'Ile de Tabarque jusqu'aux confins de la Tripolitaine. Nous avons les postes, nous avons le télégraphe. Plus de 50,000,000 piastres de propriétés possédées par les Français. Le commerce d'importation qui se fait à Tunis est de beaucoup plus important pour la France que pour les autres nations.

"Enfin, nous avons 200 kilom. de voie ferrée déjà construite, autant de concédée, et les dernières concessions comportent l'établissement d'un port à Tunis, auquel aboutiront tous les chemins de fer construits ou à construire, et qui deviendra, par là même, le centre et l'entrepôt d'un commerce considérable.

"Ce sont là, M. le Ministre, des intérêts de premier ordre qui doivent solliciter vivement l'attention et la vigilance du Gouvernement de la République.

"Or, tous ces avantages et tous les sacrifices que la France a faits depuis cinquante ans pour ce pays afin de l'élever et de le mettre au niveau de la civilisation ; les intérêts multiples et considérables de nos nationaux qui y sont établis ; le vaste programme des grands travaux d'utilité publique déjà accomplis ou à accomplir ; la sécurité de nos frontières Algériennes dont dépend, dans l'avenir, la conservation de notre belle colonie, tout cela se trouve à la veille d'être à jamais compromis par la nouvelle attitude du Gouvernement Tunisien à notre égard et par son impuissance de plus en plus manifeste à faire respecter nos frontières par ses sujets.

"Cette situation est pleine de périls ; il était du devoir de la colonie, qui en est le témoin oculaire, de la signaler au Gouvernement de la République, auquel nous vous prions, M. le Ministre, de vouloir bien transmettre cette adresse, convaincus, tous que nous sommes, que le Gouvernement Républicain, fidèle aux grandes traditions de la politique Française, saura, par des mesures promptes et efficaces, et au besoin énergiques, faire respecter par le Gouvernement du Bey de Tunis les intérêts de la colonie et l'antique et légitime influence que la France s'est conquise par ses nombreux bienfaits envers la Régence.

"Nous formons tous le vœu ardent, M. le Ministre, que le Gouvernement de la République vous conserve à la tête de la colonie pour accomplir cette œuvre de réparation, et que, de même que vous avez été jusqu'ici à la peine, vous soyez à l'honneur quand sera venu le moment de la recueillir."

M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire a répondu en ces termes :—

"M. le Premier Député,

"Je suis profondément touché de la démarche que vous venez faire auprès de moi au nom de la colonie et à sa tête. Je l'apprécie comme le plus grand honneur de ma carrière. Mais en vous remerciant tous, Messieurs, pour le magnifique souvenir dont vous avez voulu l'accompagner, j'ai hâte d'ajouter que je ne me méprends pas sur le véritable sens de cette manifestation qui serait hors de proportion avec son objet si elle ne visait que ma personne et mes faibles services.

"Vous n'avez pas voulu seulement donner une marque de précieuse sympathie au représentant de la République. Vous avez tenu surtout à témoigner, en approuvant sa conduite, de la légitimité des droits qu'il soutient ici ; vous avez été émus, en effet, des efforts que l'on tente pour tromper l'opinion publique dans ce pays et en Europe, en amoindissant la question pour arriver à la dénaturer et en essayant de substituer mon humble personnalité au grand pays que je représente et dont on espère, par ce subterfuge, avoir meilleur marché. On m'a accusé de sacrifier à un ridicule amour-propre ou à je ne sais quelle ambition chimérique les véritables intérêts de notre pays. Ce reproche, Messieurs, le plus grave que l'on puisse adresser à un Agent Diplomatique, vous venez de m'en laver et nul n'avait plus d'autorité que vous pour le faire, vous les juges les mieux placés et qui seriez certainement les premiers à me condamner si j'avais pu oublier à ce point mes devoirs envers vous et envers la France.

"Il est malheureusement vrai que nous éprouvons en ce moment, de la part du Gouvernement Local, des difficultés et, je ne dirai pas des dénis, mais des retards de justice qui peuvent compromettre les intérêts importants de nos nationaux et qui ont motivé vos légitimes inquiétudes, dont je me ferai un devoir de transmettre l'expression à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

"Mais vous pouvez compter que la sollicitude du Gouvernement de la République est déjà éveillée sur toutes ces questions et que son énergique appui ne leur fera pas défaut. Nous devons espérer aussi en la sagesse du Bey qui n'a jamais cessé d'être l'objet des égards du Gouvernement Français et de son Représentant, et qui saura certainement se soustraire aux conseils intéressés à le mettre en défiance contre un pays qui ainsi que vous venez de le rappeler, a toujours été le plus fidèle ami et le plus ferme appui du sien.

"Maintenant, Messieurs, laissez-moi vous dire combien je suis heureux, combien je suis fier de cet élan si spontané, si patriotique qui vous a portés autour du pavillon aussitôt que vous l'avez cru menacé. Ainsi entouré, fort de votre appui et de l'approbation de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, dont je viens de recevoir de nouvelles et précieuses assurances, je tiendrai à honneur de poursuivre ma mission, dont on a vainement tenté de travestir l'objet et qui tend uniquement à assurer la sécurité et la prospérité de la Régence, en même temps que la conservation des droits placés sous notre protection."

No. 8.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received March 31.)*

(No. 33.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, March 24, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 32 of yesterday, relative to the menacing attitude which France has assumed in her political relations with this country, and the disquieting effects resulting therefrom, I have the honour to inclose a copy of a letter which the Bey has addressed to M. Roustan on the subject of the Memorial presented to the latter by a section of the French subjects residing in Tunis.

It is at his Highness' special request that I submit this paper to your Lordship's consideration.

The Bey, it will be observed, is much pained at this unfriendly demonstration against him and his Government, as he is not conscious of having ever turned a deaf ear to any demand on the part of a French subject for justice.

Among those who have signed the Memorial are men who are actually in the service of the Bey, and depend upon his Highness for their very means of subsistence, besides



others whose entire fortune has been realized in this country under the benignant sway of the Government they now so unwarrantably impeach.

The unfairness of the whole demonstration, and more especially the publication of the address, without appending to it the signatures that are borne on the original document, has excited the indignation of the whole of the European community here, except the inconsiderable number of Frenchmen to whom I have already alluded.

Some of the leading French journals refer to an alleged stoppage of works on a railway in Tunis, for which a French Company had obtained a Concession from the Bey, and this supposed grievance appears to be mentioned in the Roustan address. Regarding this matter, I may be permitted to state that, although some difference did lately arise between the French Company and the Tunisian Government as to the line that was being traced out between this city and a neighbouring station, that difference never assumed a serious character, and has since been settled by M. Roustan's acceding to the justness of the Tunisian view of the case. It will scarcely, however, be conceived in Europe that, notwithstanding this Company has actually commenced its works on the railway in question, and, as above stated, experienced for a short time an unavoidable check, they have not to this day presented for the Bey's approval the complete scheme or statement of conditions by which they must be guided in their undertaking.

My Italian and German colleagues have been furnished with copies of the Bey's letter to M. Roustan, and requested by his Highness to communicate them to their respective Governments.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure in No. 8.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

(Traduction.)

DEPUIS quelque temps déjà la presse Européenne s'occupe de la Tunisie, sans que notre Gouvernement ait, jusqu'à présent, cru devoir prêter grande attention aux nouvelles contradictoires publiées dans les différents pays. La presse d'Algérie, entre autres, n'a pas épargné les attaques les plus vives contre l'Administration Tunisienne et contre ses fonctionnaires. Elle est allée jusqu'à prétendre que les querelles trop fréquentes entre les Arabes de la frontière étaient, sinon l'œuvre de notre Gouvernement, tout au moins rendues possibles par son indifférence vis-à-vis des coupables.

Notre Gouvernement a pu envisager sans aucune appréhension ces attaques, dans la persuasion où il a toujours été que nos sentiments bien connus d'amitié envers la France, et les actes par lesquels nous avons si souvent eu occasion de les manifester, auraient amplement suffi à justifier notre Gouvernement aux yeux de toute personne qui se donnerait la peine de juger la situation sans parti pris, et avec impartialité. Aujourd'hui, cependant, une manifestation d'une gravité exceptionnelle vient d'avoir lieu, et notre Gouvernement, craignant qu'un silence par trop prolongé ne puisse fausser l'opinion publique à son égard, croirait manquer à son devoir s'il ne rappelait pas l'attention du Gouvernement de la République sur le véritable état des choses en Tunisie.

En effet, par une adresse qui vous a été officiellement remise et dont personne ici n'ignore le contenu, une grande partie de la colonie Française se plaint que ses intérêts sont lésés, que ses droits de propriété ne sont pas respectés, que la sécurité individuelle est compromise, et qu'enfin les engagements contractés par l'Administration Tunisienne envers ses compatriotes sont méconnus. Elle demande, en conséquence, que le Gouvernement de la République en soit informé et que des mesures promptes et au besoin énergiques soient prises pour mettre un terme aux inconvénients d'un pareil état de choses.

Rien n'est plus facile que de réfuter une à une toutes ces accusations. Personne, en effet, ne saurait contester que les citoyens Français ne possèdent tranquillement dans la Régence leurs propriétés immobilières, à l'égal des sujets des autres Puissances. Chacun peut constater, de la manière la plus évidente, que l'absence de tout attentat prouve combien la sécurité personnelle des étrangers en général n'a aucun danger à courir. Le bon vouloir que notre Gouvernement a toujours mis à seconder toutes les entreprises dans lesquelles les Français sont intéressés, atteste de son empressement à maintenir scrupuleusement ses engagements envers eux. Dans ses relations, enfin, avec la France et ses Représentants, notre Gouvernement croit fermement s'être toujours montré non seulement disposé à tenir le plus grand compte de l'amitié d'un voisin puissant et respecté, mais il lui a constamment prouvé l'importance qu'il attachait à cette amitié, en secondant, avec une déférence des plus marquées, tous ses desirs et souvent même en les devançant. La

preuve en est dans les nombreuses entreprises accordées aux Français, et dont l'état florissant exclut entièrement qu'elles aient dû lutter contre la moindre mauvaise volonté de la part de notre Gouvernement.

C'est avec peine que nous entrons dans tous ces détails que nous aurions cru parfaitement inutile d'énumérer, sans l'acte d'accusation publié, par lequel on cherche à discréditer notre Gouvernement auprès du Cabinet Français et à motiver, à son égard, le mécontentement de la France.

Une démarche aussi peu justifiée de la part de la colonie Française ne saurait, toutefois, qu'offrir à notre Gouvernement l'occasion de déclarer, comme il vient de le faire, ses propres sentiments, et d'appeler lui-même le Gouvernement Français à apprécier sa conduite et à lui rendre la tranquillité qui, dans l'intérêt de tous, lui est si nécessaire.

Convaincu comme il est de n'avoir en rien manqué à ses devoirs internationaux avec le Gouvernement de la République, notre Gouvernement désire aussi ardemment que ses bonnes intentions ne soient méconnues par personne, ni surtout dénaturées par un document public. C'est en nous inspirant aux mêmes principes qui ont toujours été la règle de notre conduite que nous tenons un juste compte des intérêts Français engagés dans ce pays.

C'est pourquoi, en présence d'une accusation si imméritée, qui cherche à compromettre notre Gouvernement dans l'opinion de celui de la France, nous nous en remettons à l'esprit équitable des hommes éminents qui dirigent les affaires d'Etat de la puissante nation Française, notre voisine, et nous ne saurions douter un seul instant qu'une appréciation consciencieuse et loyale de la situation ne nous justifie complètement.

Nous espérons que le Gouvernement de la République ne voudra pas nous refuser cette marque de sympathie dans un but de stricte justice, et nous donner, à cette occasion, une preuve de plus des dispositions amicales qu'il a toujours montrées envers nous et dont nous lui sommes extrêmement reconnaissants.

Nous vous prions, M. le Chargé d'Affaires, de vouloir bien, avec votre bienveillance habituelle, communiquer notre présente lettre à votre Gouvernement.

*Ecrit le 24 Rabi Ettani, 1298 (24 Mars, 1881).*

No. 9.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 5.)*

(No. 37.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Rome, April 5, 1881.*

GREAT anxiety here respecting French intentions towards Tunis.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has intelligence that the Corps d'Armée of Montpellier and Marseilles are to be mobilized to replace contingents to be sent from Algiers to Tunisian frontier, and that six large transports are to prepare immediately for their conveyance.

No. 10.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 6.)*

(No. 310.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 5, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 305 of the day before yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that declarations respecting the recent disorders on the frontier of Tunis and Algeria were made yesterday on behalf of the Government in the Senate by M. Jules Ferry, the Prime Minister, and in the Chamber of Deputies by General Farre, the Minister of War.

M. Jules Ferry announced to the Senate that measures had been taken to put an end to a state of things which had become intolerable, and that sufficient forces were assembled to chastise the unsubdued tribes and to put it out of their power to recommence their attacks.

General Farre informed the Chamber of Deputies that as soon as sufficient forces were collected to chastise these robbers the Government would act with the full vigour which such a state of things required.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the text of the declarations as given in the "Journal Officiel" this morning.

I inclose also telegrams published in the unofficial newspapers this morning respecting measures taken, especially at Toulon, to send forces to the frontier of Tunis.



Lastly, I inclose an article from the "Journal des Débats" of this morning, commenting, in a tone not particularly respectful to England, on an article in the "Times" of yesterday respecting Tunisian matters.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of April 5, 1881.

DÉCLARATION DU GOUVERNEMENT.—*M. le Général Farre*, Ministre de la Guerre.—Je demande la parole.

*M. le Président*.—La parole est à *M. le Ministre de la Guerre*.

*M. le Général Farre*, Ministre de la Guerre.—Messieurs, depuis trois jours l'opinion publique est vivement émue par les nouvelles qui nous sont arrivées de la frontière de Tunis; je viens exposer devant vous, en quelques mots, d'après les rapports officiels, les événements qui ont eu lieu.

Le 30 Mars, la tribu puissante des Kroumirs, qui fait nominativement partie de la Régence de Tunis, a fait une incursion sur le territoire de notre colonie et a attaqué la tribu Algérienne des Ouled Nehed. Cette incursion a été repoussée. Mais le lendemain, 31 Mars, au lieu de réparaître au nombre de 400 ou 500, comme la veille, les Kroumirs sont revenus plus nombreux encore et ont envahi de nouveau notre territoire. Cette fois l'affaire prit les proportions d'un événement de guerre d'une certaine importance. Deux compagnies sont allées au secours de la tribu Algérienne menacée; le combat a duré pendant onze heures, et nous avons eu, de notre côté, dans les deux compagnies, quatre morts et six blessés. Les tribus Algériennes qui combattaient avec nous ont éprouvé aussi quelques pertes.

En présence de ces événements, qui dépassent tout ce qui s'était passé jusqu'à présent au point de vue des incursions fréquentes des tribus Tunisiennes sur notre frontière, le Gouvernement a pris des mesures pour pouvoir réprimer les actes qui se sont produits et les empêcher à l'avenir.

Aussitôt que nous aurons réuni les forces nécessaires pour sévir contre ces pillards, nous agirons avec toute la vigueur que comporte une pareille situation. (Très-bien! très-bien! Applaudissements.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of April 5, 1881.

DÉCLARATION DU GOUVERNEMENT.—*M. le Président*.—La parole est à *M. le Président du Conseil*. (Mouvement d'attention.)

*M. Jules Ferry*, Président du Conseil.—Messieurs, l'opinion publique est émue, depuis deux jours, des nouvelles qui nous sont parvenues de la frontière Tunisienne. Les agressions des populations qui n'appartiennent que nominativement à la Régence de Tunis, et notamment de la belliqueuse tribu des Kroumirs, sont anciennes sur notre frontière Algérienne, mais elles ont pris, dans ces derniers jours, une gravité toute particulière.

Il y a eu, le 30 et le 31 Mars, un engagement assez vif entre nos troupes, les contingents Algériens qui combattaient avec nous, et des bandes assez nombreuses appartenant à la tribu des Kroumirs.

Nous avons eu cinq morts et cinq blessés. Les tribus Algériennes qui étaient à nos côtés ont aussi subi quelques pertes.

Cette situation impose au Gouvernement des devoirs qu'il saura remplir (vive approbation), et je viens dire au Sénat que toutes les mesures sont prises pour mettre un terme à une situation intolérable. (Très-bien! très-bien! sur divers bancs.) Des forces suffisantes sont réunies en ce moment pour châtier ces populations insoumises et pour les mettre hors d'état de recommencer leurs agressions. (Marques nombreuses d'approbation.)

No. 11.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 6.)

(No. 16.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, April 5, 1881.

A VERBAL message from French Chargé d'Affaires to the Bey confirms the announcement of the French newspapers and Havas Agency that the French Government has decided to send a military force across the frontier and chastise the Tunisian tribe of [F] Hamir, notwithstanding energetic measures taken by the Bey to maintain order on his side. Great excitement prevails along the frontier, and the Tunisian Arabs [two groups wrong], fearing invasion, have taken up arms. Alleged aggression on part of the latter not officially confirmed. If found necessary, the Bey will send his brother and a camp of 5,000 men to the frontier. In a conversation yesterday with the Prime Minister, *M. Roustan* expressed himself satisfied with the energetic action of the Bey. The above-mentioned decision of the French Government, if true, is therefore premature. In view of the serious results that may ensue from the threatened invasion and the harm that may accrue therefrom to British interests, I trust it may be your Lordship's pleasure to take such steps as may allay uneasiness which so unhappily exists to the detriment of all interests.

No. 12.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 6, 1881, 4.40 P.M.

INQUIRE of the French Government what is the state of affairs respecting the reported expedition of French troops across the frontier.

No. 13.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 206.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 6, 1881, 5.10 P.M.

IN reply to an inquiry which he addressed to me, I have said to the Italian Ambassador that I had on several occasions repeated to his Excellency the assurances which I have at different times received from the French Government to the effect that, while France claimed to exercise the influence over Tunis which is necessary for a powerful civilized country over a small and less civilized neighbour, she did not desire in any way to interfere with the rights of foreign residents or foreign traders in Tunis, and that she had no intention to annex Tunis. I had since received no intimation of any change of policy on the part of the French Government.

I added that I observed that in the French Chambers yesterday mention had only been made of brigands; no complaint made against the Government of Tunis.

No. 14.

General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received April 6.)

(Personnelle.)  
*M. le Comte*,

Londres, le 6 Avril, 1881, 8 A.M.

J'AI reçu cette nuit de *M. Cairoli* un télégramme par lequel il me fait part de la grande surexcitation que produit à Rome la nouvelle d'une expédition Française contre la Tunisie; il m'annonce, en même temps, que, ce matin même, auront lieu, à ce sujet, à la Chambre des Députés, des interpellations qui menacent de prendre un caractère violent.

Comme l'intérêt que nous avons dans cette question ne diffère pas de celui de l'Angleterre, qui est de maintenir l'indépendance du Bey, et afin de pouvoir dire à la Chambre quelques paroles propres à calmer les esprits, *M. Cairoli* prie votre Excellence, par mon intermédiaire, de vouloir bien lui faire savoir, ce matin même, si c'est possible, si la France a fait quelques déclarations rassurantes sur ses projets réels, et quelles seraient l'attitude et les intentions du Gouvernement de la Reine dans le cas où cette Puissance prendrait prétexte des attaques de quelques tribus sauvages et barbares pour occuper la Tunisie.



J'attends quelques mots de votre Excellence afin de mettre M. Cairoli à même d'apaiser l'orage qui menace, et pour que ce matin il ne puisse rien dire de compromettant pour la ligne de conduite qu'il entend tenir, autant que les circonstances le permettent, conforme à celle de l'Angleterre, dans cette affaire, qui intéresse également nos deux Gouvernements.

Veuillez, &c.  
(Signed) L. F. MENABREA.

No. 15.

*Earl Granville to General Menabrea.*

M. l'Ambassadeur, 18, Carlton House Terrace, April 6, 1881.  
I HAVE on several occasions repeated to your Excellency the assurances which I have at different times received from the French Government, to the effect that, while France claimed to exercise the influence over Tunis which is necessary for a powerful civilized country over a small and less civilized neighbour, she did not desire in any way to interfere with the rights of foreign residents or foreign traders in Tunis, and that she had no intention to annex Tunis. I have since received no intimation of any change of policy on the part of the French Government.

I observe that the declarations in the Chambers yesterday by the French Government speak only of the brigands, and make no complaint against the Tunisian Government.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 16.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 138. Extender.)  
Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 6, 1881.*

I AM informed by the Italian Ambassador that he has received a telegram from his Government stating that much excitement has been caused at Rome by the state of affairs on the frontier of Algeria and Tunis, and the military measures which it is said that the French Government are contemplating.

M. Cairoli adds that interpellations are about to be addressed to the Italian Government in the Chambers, and that, as the interests of England and Italy appeared to be identical in this question, and required that the independence of the Bey should be maintained, he would be glad to learn whether the French Government have given Her Majesty's Government any assurances as to their real intentions, and what would be the attitude of Her Majesty's Government in the event of France taking advantage of the pretext afforded by the attacks of savage tribes to proceed to an occupation of Tunisian territory.

In reply, I have reminded General Menabrea that I have on several occasions repeated to his Excellency the assurances which I had at different times received from the French Government, to the effect that, while France claimed to exercise the influence over Tunis which is necessary for a powerful civilized country over a small and less civilized neighbour, she did not desire in any way to interfere with the rights of foreign residents or foreign traders in Tunis, and that she had no intention to annex Tunis.

I added that I had since received no further intimation on the part of the French Government, and that I observed that, in the French Chambers yesterday, mention had only been made of brigands, and that no complaint was made against the Government of Tunis.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 17.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)*

(No. 312.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 6, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatches No. 305 of the 3rd instant and No. 310 of yesterday, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship further accounts published in the newspapers of the preparations for sending a French force to the Tunisian frontier.

I have, moreover, been informed by Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles that orders have been sent to Toulon to prepare six transports for sea immediately, and by Her Majesty's Consul at Brest that the iron-clad "Redoute" at that port is being made ready for sea, and that the leave of the ship's company is stated to have been stopped.

Much importance appears to be attached by the French to the hostility on the part of Italy, which they consider to be proved by the publication at Cagliari of a newspaper in Arabic called the "Mouskatel." I inclose a translation of articles in that paper unfavourable to France which has appeared in the "Journal des Débats."

Public excitement in this country on the Tunisian question appears to be on the increase.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 18.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)*

(No. 313.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 6, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatches No. 305 of the 1st instant, No. 310 of yesterday, and No. 312 of to-day, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire spoke to me this afternoon of the incursion of the Kroumirs from the Tunisian frontier into Algeria, and of the measures taken in consequence by the French Government.

The French territory had, his Excellency said, for many years past suffered from the lawlessness of the tribes nominally under the sovereignty of the Bey of Tunis. More than 400 incursions of more or less gravity were on record, but this last had surpassed in atrocity those which had preceded it. French soldiers had been killed; the state of the frontier had become intolerable; and the French Government were determined to put a stop, once for all, to these attacks.

They were, he went on to say, about to send a corps of from 12,000 to 15,000 men to the Tunisian frontier to inflict a signal chastisement on the Kroumirs and other lawless tribes. This number of men would be sent from France, and they would either go themselves to the frontier or take the place of troops already in garrison in Algeria, who, being inured to the climate, might perhaps be better adapted for active service in the expedition.

The Bey of Tunis would be reminded of his responsibility as sovereign of the country whence the incursions proceeded, and would be invited to send troops of his own to co-operate with the French expedition. The French troops would be assembled on the French side of the frontier, and they would not cross the frontier without necessity; but they would be empowered to do so if their military operations required it. Should the necessity for entering the Tunisian territory arise, the French Commander would give the Bey notice.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire spoke of the operations as if they were to be confined to the neighbourhood of the frontier, and to be directed only to the punishment of the lawless frontier tribes.

He proceeded, however, to advert to the general grievances of France against Tunis, and said that he hoped the Bey would soon return to his senses and see the impolicy of dealing unfairly with French interests.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire repeated the assurances so often given, that he considered that the annexation of Tunis to France would be a mistake and a misfortune. It was, however, he affirmed, absolutely necessary that French influence should be predominant in the Regency, and that French enterprise should have fair play, and, as a natural consequence, take the lead. France could not allow another Power to make Tunis the fulcrum of a lever with which to disturb the French possessions in Africa.

Having made this allusion to Italy, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire cited various facts



which confirmed him in the opinion that the difficulties which France encountered in Tunis were mainly to be attributed to the action of the Italian Government.

He dwelt particularly on the newspaper "Moustakel," printed in Arabic at Cagliari, which, he said, was evidently written with a deliberate intention of traducing and vilifying France, and which was spread about among the natives in Tunis and even in Algeria.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## No. 19.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)*

(No. 33.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Paris, April 7, 1881.*

MY despatch No. 313 of yesterday will have shown your Lordship that, before I received your telegram No. 179 of that afternoon, I had obtained from French Government and forwarded to you the required information about the French expedition to the Tunisian frontier.

## No. 20.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)*

(No. 40.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Rome, April 7, 1881.*

THE Government have been defeated by 10 votes on Signor Zanardelli's motion for the adjournment of the debate on the Tunisian question.

## No. 21.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 328.)  
My Lord,

*Foreign Office, April 7, 1881.*

THE French Ambassador called upon me this morning and asked me whether I could give any explanation of the announcement in the Italian correspondence of the "Journal des Débats" and other English and French papers, that a London telegram had announced that he had given me the most satisfactory assurances on the question of the military operations about to be executed on the Tunisian frontier.

I said that I could not undertake to explain what was stated in the foreign correspondence of the foreign or English press, but that I could tell him what had passed between the Italian Ambassador and myself the other day. I then informed him that Count Menabrea had told me that interpellations were about to be addressed to the Italian Government in the Chamber, which was much excited by the question of Tunis, and that the Government would be glad to know whether I had had any information respecting recent occurrences on the frontier of Tunis, and whether I had received any assurance from the French Government, and that I had answered that I had, on several occasions, repeated to his Excellency the assurances which I had at different times received from the French Government, to the effect that while France claimed to exercise the influence over Tunis which is necessary for a powerful civilized country over a small and less civilized neighbour, she did not desire in any way to interfere with the rights of foreign residents or foreign traders in Tunis; and that she had no intention to annex Tunis, and that I had since received no further intimation on the part of the French Government.

M. Challemel-Lacour said that this was complete and satisfactory, and evidently accounted for the report which had been spread that it was quite reasonable that Count Menabrea should have wished to learn that which would have a calming effect. He said that he had not come merely to ask this question, but to talk over the whole matter with me before I left London.

His Excellency said the French had been subjected to intolerable proceedings on the part of the border tribes, who had been supplied with excellent arms, and had evidently been instigated to action by others. He said that the French Government had no intention of annexing Tunis, but were determined to punish the savages who attacked

them, and to take measures which would effectually put an end to the occurrence of such outrages.

He said that the Tunisian Government was hostile to the French, and was encouraged by the Italians, and by the belief that the English were united with the Italians in this opposition.

I answered that there unfortunately was a good deal of jealousy between the French and the Italians, and that my endeavours had all along been to calm these differences; that the declarations on both sides as to the principles on which they desired to act were, if carried out, unobjectionable; and that I had always made a point of repeating such assurances to the respective parties whenever they were made to me: that it was of course impossible that outrages should be committed on the French frontiers with impunity, but that I had been informed by telegraph yesterday that the Bey was ready to send 5,000 men to the disturbed district in order to restore order.

M. Challemel-Lacour said this was impossible, as the Bey had only 3,000 soldiers and about 1,200 irregular troops who were more likely to join the natives. I said it was impossible the Bey should think of making war upon such a nation as France.

I took note of the assurance that there was no intention on the part of France to annex Tunis; and I hoped that while they obtained redress for the particular incident, they would not exaggerate an affair which might easily create a certain amount of irritation in other countries.

M. Challemel-Lacour repeated that there was no intention of annexation; that it was easy for those who were not affected by proceedings which might give France much trouble in Algeria to advise moderation, and they did not intend to exaggerate the affair, but it was necessary for France to take measures to prevent such aggressions.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 22.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 8, 9 A.M.)*

(Telegraphic.)

*Rome, April 7, 1881, 11 P.M.*

MAJORITY against Ministry 21. They have resigned.

## No. 23.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 8.)*

(No. 18.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 7, 1881.*

M. ROUSTAN this day communicated officially to the Bey a telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, announcing that orders had already been given for a military force to punish the Hamir tribe, and that the said military force would operate on Tunisian territory as allies and friends. The French Minister furthermore trusts he can count upon the Bey's Government sanctioning advance [?] necessary to a temporary occupation of the valley of the Majerdah. The Bey replies, expressing astonishment at the present communication, declares that no demand has been made to him in respect of any specified act of aggression on the part of his subjects on the frontier, remarks on the energetic measures he has taken for insuring order on his side of the frontier, and insists that he is both able and willing to maintain tranquillity in that part of his dominions as proved by information just received of the satisfactory results which have been obtained by the military expedition of the past week.

His Highness hopes that on learning the real state of things the French Government will not give effect to their above-mentioned decision. Otherwise he must solemnly protest as a vassal of the Sultan against so unjust an invasion of his territory, and hold the French Government responsible for all the consequences that may result therefrom. That responsibility would, in my opinion, be all the more serious if the threatened hostilities are embarked in without such notice being given as would suffice to place the general interests of all foreign subjects in security.

If the invasion do take place, I beg most respectfully to suggest whether it would not be well immediately to occupy the port of Bizerta by a British naval force.



*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 15.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, April 8, 1881, 5:55 P.M.*

IF your advice is asked, advise the Bey to take all necessary measures to co-operate with the French in the punishment of any recent outrages. Study the spirit of the instructions you have received from the Foreign Office as to differences with France, and maintain a careful reserve.

No. 25.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 21. Extender.)  
Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 8, 1881.*

I HAVE received your telegram No. 18 of yesterday, reporting the communication which has been made to the Bey by the French Chargé d'Affaires relative to the punishment of the Hamir tribe and the reply made to M. Roustan by His Highness.

Should your advice be sought Her Majesty's Government desire that you should recommend the Bey to take all necessary measures to co-operate with the French authorities in the punishment of any recent outrages committed by the frontier tribes.

As to the attitude you yourself should observe, I have to refer you to the spirit of the instructions with which I have furnished you with regard to differences with France in Tunis, and to desire that you will maintain a careful reserve.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 26.

*Consul-General Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received April 9.)*

(No. 2.)  
My Lord,

*Algiers, April 4, 1881.*

IN my letter No. 1, dated the 25th January, I informed your Lordship that public opinion in this Colony was in a very excited state regarding the affairs of Tunis, and I expressed my opinion that should an excuse for armed intervention be necessary, a most unanswerable one would always be ready in the conduct of the Kroumirs.

Since then there have been frequent raids on either side of the border, not of a very important character, and such as, in other times, would almost have passed unnoticed, or at most would have been settled without much difficulty by the military authorities of the district.

Of late, however, they have assumed a graver aspect, and on Thursday last, the 1st April, an engagement took place between the French troops and the Kroumirs, which lasted the entire day, and resulted in about a dozen of the former being killed and wounded.

All the papers in the Colony are urging the Government to enter the Tunisian territory, and even to assume a Protectorate over the Regency. I inclose a cutting from one, which gives a fair idea of the tenour of all.

There can be no doubt that the existence of this semi-independent and turbulent tribe on the French frontier is quite intolerable, and that the French are exceedingly anxious to reduce it to subjection, an operation which the Bey of Tunis is quite powerless to effect.

A characteristic anecdote is told of one of their Chiefs who recently visited a French station. The Commandant observed to him that the Bey had not been sending any troops against them of late. He replied, "Alas! no, none have been sent for years." The Commandant asked why that was a subject of regret. He answered this was almost the only means the tribes had of obtaining arms and ammunition.

Considerable reinforcements are being sent to the frontier. From Algiers two battalions of Zouaves, a battalion of Tirailleurs, a section of artillery, another of engineers, and a squadron of the military train are now being embarked. A second battalion of Zouaves, and two of Tirailleurs, have been sent by special train from Oran. All the available troops in the department of Constantine will be sent also, and it is said that further reinforcements will be conveyed direct from Marseilles to La Calle.

I have little doubt that a strong effort will be made at least to obtain a rectification of frontier; nothing can be worse than the present one; if the prescription of twenty centuries counts for anything the French certainly ought to have made their boundary the Oued ez-Zan (Ancient Tusca), which enters the sea at Tabarca. This would give them one of the richest districts in North Africa, and having possession of it, the whole of Tunis would be at their mercy.

The news of the disaster to Colonel Flatters' exploring expedition, which has just reached Algiers, will naturally make the French anxious to do something in the way of compensation. The Tonaregs are far beyond their power, but the Kroumirs are within very easy distance.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 27.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 9.)*

(No. 323. Very Confidential.)  
My Lord,

*Paris, April 8, 1881.*

IN my despatch No. 313 of the day before yesterday, which I forwarded on that day by post, I reported to your Lordship, without comment, immediately after an interview with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, the language held to me by his Excellency with regard to the French expedition to the frontier of Tunis.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire's language implied that the expedition was undertaken solely with a view to chastise the lawless tribes, and that it was not intended that it should enter farther into Tunisian territory than might be necessary for this purpose.

I believe that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire was sincere, and that the present intentions of the French Government do not go much beyond this.

I am not, however, blind to the probability that they may be led on much farther; and even M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire hinted that the opportunity might be taken to bring the Bey of Tunis to his senses with regard to other matters affecting French interests.

It will have struck your Lordship that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, while giving assurances, satisfactory so far as they went, did not give any distinct pledge. He repeated the opinion that he should think it a mistake and a misfortune to annex Tunis to France, but he put this in the form of an opinion, not of a promise.

Without therefore attributing any very definite designs against the independence of the Regency to the French Government, I do not think it possible to view the accumulation of French forces in the vicinity of Tunis without much anxiety.

The public press calls loudly for the establishment of a French Protectorate at least, and general irritation against Italy produces a cry for measures in Tunis to bring not only the Bey but the Italians to their senses.

I desire to draw your Lordship's attention to the despatch from Colonel Brackenbury respecting the French forces sent to Tunis, which I have the honour to forward to you with my immediately preceding despatch.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 28.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 9.)*

(No. 24. Very Confidential.)  
My Lord,

*Paris, April 8, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I had this morning an interview with the Chef du Cabinet of the Minister of War, with a view to obtaining information of a nature to enable me to furnish more accurate reports upon the military expedition to the Tunisian frontier than can be gathered from the sources open to the general public. He will give me a reply after consulting the Minister of War.

The details given in the newspapers do not always agree. The official map of the Province of Constantine has been withdrawn from public sale since the 1st instant, and such maps of the Algerian frontier as can be bought are of little value for a military study. Such information, therefore, as I can at present give, must be taken subject to future correction.



The incursion of the Kroumirs appears to have been only one of many frontier raids; but its peculiar importance is due to the fact that two companies of French troops came upon the scene, and that a corporal and two men of the 59th Regiment of infantry of the line and two soldiers of the 3rd Zouaves, were killed in the engagement of the 31st March.

It was said to me in the War Office a few days ago, "We shall guard ourselves carefully against the mistake which you made in your dealings with the Boers. We shall not commence our attack until we have sufficient force, at least 10,000 or 12,000 men, to ensure success."

To-day's "Armée Française," a military journal, said to be connected with M. Gambetta's organ, the "République Française," and to represent the views of the present Minister of War, points out that an expedition of 15,000 men, which certain journals assert to be the contemplated strength of the expedition, would be altogether insufficient for the operations necessary for the "répression des actes de brigandages commis par les tribus Tunisiennes." The zone of action, it says, comprises the Valley of the Medjerda and of the Oued-Mellégue, and the mountains bounding the basin of this latter river to the north. There are great military obstacles, few and bad roads. Isolated movements would be dangerous. Several columns will be required to bring the campaign to a speedy termination. It may, it says, be considered certain, that the whole 19th Corps will take part in the campaign. This, it adds, is the only means "d'en finir rapidement avec nos ennemis, et d'arrêter l'insurrection naissante en Tunisie." The co-operation of the Bey's troops can make no difference in the French plans. They are not to be relied on, and would be a danger rather than a help.

The troops composing the 19th Corps d'Armée, stationed in Algeria, represent about 29,000 infantry (41 battalions); 8,400 cavalry (50 squadrons); 72 guns (12 batteries).

It is probable that not more than two-thirds of the infantry and cavalry could take the field for active service, say, 20,000 infantry; 5,000 cavalry; and it would evidently not be necessary to replace more than half of these in the garrisons of Algeria.

It is stated that the object of the dispatch of reinforcements from France, and of the military preparations being made, is merely to replace in the garrisons of Algeria the troops removed for service to the frontier, and I was to-day assured by the Chef du Cabinet of the Minister of War, that there is absolutely nothing concealed behind what the Minister has stated in the Chamber. I may add that no complete mobilization of any part of the troops in France has taken place, that no reserves have been called up, and that the companies of the regiments sent from France to Algeria have only been raised to 100 men each, the war strength being 250.

But, to my mind, the preparations being made in France point to the contemplation of something more than the mere temporary replacing of the troops of the 19th Corps in garrison in Algeria.

Five thousand six hundred men are reported to have sailed from Marseilles on the 6th instant. A second convoy of three large transports is detailed to start on the 10th instant. Other troops have embarked from Toulon. These are doubtless for Algeria.

But in addition considerable numbers of troops of the 14th, 15th, and 16th Corps have received orders to be in readiness to embark. Ten ships of the Compagnie Trans-Atlantique have been requisitioned to transport 15,000 to 20,000 men. A strong naval force is collected at Toulon, and the ships' companies have been brought up to war strength by the dispatch of sailors from Brest.

I do not say that these facts point to an expedition to any part of the Tunis coast, but they appear to indicate that the possibility of such an expedition is contemplated.

The maps spread out in the office of the Chief of the Third Bureau on the occasion of my last visit to the War Office were—

1. Itinerary of the road from the frontier to Tunis, 120 miles.
2. Itinerary of the road from Bizerte to Tunis, under 50 miles.
3. Environs of Bizerte.
4. Environs of Tunis.

Ships of war can approach within a short distance of Bizerte, and without attributing to the French Government any designs beyond the repression of the brigandage of the frontier tribes by the troops of the 19th Corps and the reinforcement of the weakened Algerian garrisons, I may perhaps point out that in the large iron-clad squadron at Toulon, in the ships of the Compagnie Trans-Atlantique held in readiness to convey 20,000 men, and in the troops held ready in three corps d'armée in the south of France, the means exist for a mixed expedition to Bizerte, from which Tunis can be reached on the

fourth day, should circumstances induce the French Government to go beyond their present moderate views.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

No. 29.

*Telegram communicated to Earl Granville by General Menabrea, April 9.*

*Tunis, le 7 Avril, 1881.*

LE Gouvernement Français a informé le Bey d'avoir résolu de franchir la frontière Tunisienne afin d'agir contre les tribus de cette région, en étendant les opérations à la Vallée de Medjerda. Il demande le concours des forces de son Altesse. Le Bey a répondu que ce fait était considéré par lui comme une violation de ses droits souverains et que, en conséquence, il refusait de consentir, vu que il avait déjà pris les dispositions nécessaires pour assurer la tranquillité de ses sujets; il était d'ailleurs fermement décidé à remplir ce devoir au moyen de ses propres forces. Il a ensuite donné aux Consuls Allemand, Anglais, et Italien, communication de sa note, en les priant de la faire parvenir à leurs Gouvernements respectifs; il espère que les Puissances ne permettront pas l'exécution d'un plan qui n'a qu'un but, celui de le réduire à la dernière extrémité pour l'obliger d'accepter le Protectorat de ses puissants voisins.

Il devient de jour en jour plus évident que les tribus Tunisiennes, loin d'avoir donné motif à des mesures de répression, ont été attaquées par les Algériens qui les ont grandement maltraitées, ce qui infirme le motif allégué par la France, pour justifier son agression. L'émotion est très vive dans le pays aussi bien parmi les indigènes que parmi les étrangers non Français, établis à Tunis.

No. 30.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 220.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, April 9, 1881, 5.25 P.M.*

I HAVE communicated to the Italian Ambassador the substance of my instructions to Mr. Reade respecting Tunis difficulty, sent yesterday and repeated to you in my preceding telegram.

No. 31.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 340.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, April 9, 1881.*

I HAVE read with much interest the report contained in your Excellency's despatch No. 313 of the 6th instant of your conversation with M. Barthélémy St. Hilaire on the difficulty which has arisen in consequence of the disturbances on the frontier between Tunis and Algiers.

I should wish your Excellency to communicate to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs the substance of the instructions which were sent yesterday to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Tunis, with the purport of which your Excellency is acquainted.

You should add that Her Majesty's Government sincerely hope that the matter will be satisfactorily settled, and that the marauders will be subdued and punished by the joint action of the French and Tunisian authorities. Should it however be found impossible to bring about a friendly arrangement on these terms, and should there be any prospect of further action on the part of France, it may as a matter of course be necessary, in view of the considerable number of British subjects residing in Tunis, that Her Majesty's Government should send vessels of war there for the protection of life and property against possible outbreak of Mahomedan fanaticism. This step would be undertaken on the consideration I have mentioned, and not, I need hardly say, out of any unfriendly feeling towards France.

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In a conversation with the Italian Ambassador to-day, I confined myself to informing his Excellency of the substance of the instructions which I have sent to Mr. Reade.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 32.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received April 10.)*

(No. 167.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Constantinople, April 9, 1881, 2.45 P.M.*

THE Sultan has asked me secretly and personally what was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on the Tunisian question. I replied that I was ignorant as to their views. My impression was that Her Majesty's Government would greatly regret any fresh complication affecting in any way the Eastern question, and I surmised that they would be in favour of the *status quo*, but that His Majesty must understand that this was my personal impression only.

He then asked me to telegraph confidentially to your Lordship on the matter. His Government might be obliged to take up some definite line of policy, and would be very grateful for advice from Her Majesty's Government.

I asked His Majesty whether there were any points which he had specially in his mind, but I could obtain no clue to his own views except a significant remark that the Bey of Tunis had caused the difficulty by his maladministration.

## No. 33.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 10, 8 A.M.)*

(No. 19.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 9, 1881, 6.30 P.M.*

INTELLIGENCE received from the Bey's officers on the frontier, confirmed by European gentlemen who have visited that part of the country, is to the effect that a considerable number of French troops are moving towards the frontier, in six or seven columns, of from 1,500 to 2,000 men each, and that one of these columns has actually entered the Tunisian territory.

The Hamir tribe are again in a state of quiet, having been prevailed upon by their Chiefs to return to their houses and lay down their arms. It is positively asserted here that the only fight of importance [? that] has yet occurred between French troops and the Hamirs took place on the 30th ultimo on Tunisian ground, when the French were the aggressors, and fifteen Hamirs were killed and seven Algerian soldiers. Considerable excitement and alarm prevails among natives in consequence of the above-mentioned military movements and the tone of the French telegrams and press. It is impossible, therefore, to answer for the continued security of our numerous colony dispersed over the whole Regency. I beg, therefore, that, independently of any other measures which your Lordship may think proper to adopt in such an emergency, one or more of Her Majesty's ships may be ordered to Tunis.

## No. 34.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 10.)*

(No. 327.)  
My Lord,

*Paris, April 9, 1881.*

A BILL granting 4,000,000 fr. (160,000 l.) to the Minister of War, and 1,695,276 fr. (67,811 l.) to the Minister of Marine to defray the expenses of the military expedition to the frontier of Tunis, was passed unanimously by the Chamber of Deputies the day before yesterday, and by the Senate yesterday.

I have the honour to inclose the authentic Report of the proceedings in each House.

In the Chamber of Deputies, M. Jules Delafosse remarked that it would be difficult to induce public opinion to believe that the conflict would be confined to the chastisement of the Kroumirs. He did not, he said, forget that the French Government had other grievances against Tunis; and he conceived that the redress to be obtained for these would

imply solutions, not yet apparent, which would probably modify the relations between France and the Tunisian Government, and perhaps also modify the character of that Government itself.

No answer was made to this speech.

In the Senate the Bill was passed without discussion.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of April 9, 1881.*

DÉPÔT D'UN PROJET DE LOI.—M. le Président.—La parole est à M. le Ministre de la Guerre.

M. le Général Farre, Ministre de la Guerre.—Messieurs, j'ai l'honneur de déposer sur le bureau du Sénat un Projet de Loi portant demande d'un crédit supplémentaire de 5,695,000 fr., au titre du Budget ordinaire de l'Exercice 1881, pour subvenir aux frais des opérations contre les Kroumirs sur les frontières de Tunisie.

Le Projet de Loi que je viens aujourd'hui présenter au Sénat, au nom de M. le Président de la République, a été adopté hier par la Chambre des Députés.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'insister sur les motifs qui ont engagé le Gouvernement à vous présenter ce Projet; ces motifs résultent de la déclaration qu'a faite ici même, il y a trois jours, M. le Président du Conseil (Approbation), et nous sommes prêts d'ailleurs à donner à la Commission tous les éclaircissements qu'elle pourrait désirer.

Je prie le Sénat de vouloir bien déclarer l'urgence, et d'ordonner le renvoi immédiat du Projet de Loi à la Commission des Finances, en demandant à cette Commission de l'examiner dans le plus bref délai. (Très bien! très bien!).

M. le Président.—Je consulte le Sénat sur l'urgence demandée par M. le Ministre de la Guerre.

(L'urgence est déclarée.)

M. le Président.—Le Projet de Loi sera imprimé et distribué.

Il est renvoyé à la Commission des Finances qui voudra bien se réunir le plus tôt possible.

M. de Freycinet, Président de la Commission des Finances.—La Commission est convoquée pour 3 heures.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of April 9, 1881.*

DÉPÔT DU RAPPORT SUR LE PROJET DE LOI RELATIVE AUX OPÉRATIONS MILITAIRES SUR LES FRONTIÈRES DE LA TUNISIE.—M. le Président.—La parole est à M. de Freycinet. (Mouvement d'attention.)

M. de Freycinet.—J'ai l'honneur de déposer sur le bureau du Sénat un Rapport fait au nom de la Commission des Finances chargée d'examiner le Projet de Loi présenté au commencement de cette séance par le Gouvernement portant ouverture de crédits extraordinaires aux Ministres de la Guerre, de la Marine, et des Colonies pour opérations militaires sur les frontières de Tunisie.

Voix diverses.—Lisez! Lisez!

M. le Président.—M. de Freycinet, veuillez donner lecture du Rapport.

M. de Freycinet.—Messieurs, le Gouvernement a déposé sur le bureau du Sénat, dans la séance de ce jour, une demande de crédit extraordinaire de 5,695,276 fr., destiné à parer à des opérations militaires à effectuer sur la frontière de Tunisie.

Votre Commission des Finances, saisie de cette demande de crédit, s'est empressée de provoquer les explications de M. le Président du Conseil ainsi que de MM. les Ministres de la Guerre et des Affaires Étrangères, MM. les Membres du Gouvernement, appelés au sein de la Commission, nous ont fait connaître que les opérations projetées, conformément aux déclarations déjà portées à la Tribune des deux Chambres, dans la séance du 4 Avril, avaient pour but de réprimer d'une manière efficace et durable les agressions dont nous avons fréquemment été l'objet de la part des Kroumirs, et qui ont pris, dans ces derniers temps, un caractère de gravité intolérable.



Le Gouvernement estime et le Sénat estimera sans doute avec lui qu'il convient aux intérêts et à la dignité de la France que la sécurité de notre frontière Algérienne ne soit pas plus longtemps compromise par des actes aussi contraires au droit des gens.

Le Gouvernement a manifesté ses intentions au Bey de Tunis, et il l'a invité à lui prêter son concours contre ces populations insoumises.

Il importe que les forces destinées à nous faire obtenir satisfaction soient réunies dans le plus bref délai, et sur une échelle assez importante pour que la répression soit aussi prompt qu'énergique. Votre Commission pense que le crédit demandé est loin d'excéder les besoins qu'il est raisonnable de prévoir; elle ne peut que vous en proposer l'adoption. La Chambre des Députés l'a déjà votée hier à l'unanimité. Nous ne doutons pas que le Sénat n'en fasse de même aujourd'hui. (Vive approbation.)

Nous avons, en conséquence, l'honneur de vous soumettre le Projet de Loi suivant:—

"Article 1<sup>er</sup>. Un crédit extraordinaire de 4,000,000 fr. est ouvert au Ministre de la Guerre, au titre du Budget ordinaire de l'Exercice 1881, chap. 29 (Opérations militaires sur les frontières de Tunisie).

"Art. 2. Un crédit extraordinaire de 1,695,276 fr. est ouvert au Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies, au titre du Budget ordinaire de l'Exercice 1881, chap. 16 bis (Opérations militaires sur les frontières de Tunisie).

"Art. 3. Il sera pourvu à cette dépense au moyen des ressources générales du Budget de l'Exercice 1881."

La Commission m'a en outre chargé de demander la discussion immédiate.

L'urgence a déjà été prononcée.

M. le Président. Je consulte le Sénat sur la discussion immédiate qui est demandée par la Commission ainsi que par vingt de nos collègues dont les noms suivent: MM. Merlin, Tenaille Saligny, Testelin, Peyrat, Léopold, Faye, Ch. Brun, Elzéar Pin, Joseph Garnier, Le Royer, Lamorte, Combescure, Comte Rampon, Le Lièvre, Ribière, Roger-Marvaise, Gilbert Boucher, Humbert, Bonnet, Demôle, Pelletan, Edmund de Lafayette.

(La discussion immédiate est prononcée.)

M. le Président.—Personne ne demandant la parole pour la discussion générale, je consulte le Sénat sur la question de savoir s'il entend passer à la discussion des Articles.

Il n'y a pas d'opposition?

Je donne lecture des Articles:—

"Article 1<sup>er</sup>. Un crédit extraordinaire de 4,000,000 fr. est ouverte au Ministre de la Guerre, au titre du Budget ordinaire de l'Exercice 1881, chap. 29 (Opérations militaires sur les frontières de Tunisie)."

(L'Article 1<sup>er</sup>, mis aux voix, est adopté.)

M. le Président.—"Art. 2. Un crédit extraordinaire de 1,695,276 fr. est ouvert au Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies au titre de Budget ordinaire de l'Exercice 1881, chap. 16 bis (Opérations militaires sur les frontières de Tunisie)." (Adopté.)

"Art. 3. Il sera pourvu à cette dépense au moyen des ressources générales du Budget de l'Exercice 1881." (Adopté.)

Il va être procédé au scrutin.

(Le scrutin a lieu. MM. les Secrétaires opèrent le dépouillement des votes.)

#### No. 35.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)*

(No. 136.)

My Lord,

Rome, April 6, 1881.

JUST before my leaving M. Malvano yesterday, he inquired with much earnestness and anxiety whether I had received any information from your Lordship as to the proceedings of the French upon the Tunisian frontier. On my replying in the negative, he said that the news received at the Ministry was of a very serious nature.

It would appear, indeed, that the French Government were about to undertake a military expedition across the Tunisian frontier. It was reported, he said, that the corps d'armée of Montpellier and Marseilles were to be mobilized in order to replace the contingents which were to be sent from Algeria, and that orders had been given to prepare six large transports for their conveyance. He spoke as if the accounts published in the French papers as to the disorders which had occurred on the frontier were exaggerated: at all events they were not confirmed, he said, from Tunis, where it would appear the Bey was taking measures for the re-establishment of order.

M. Malvano did not allude, possibly because he had not seen them, to the statements in the French Chamber and Senate of the day before, as published by the telegrams in the evening papers of yesterday, herewith inclosed; but he said that questions were to be addressed to M. Cairoli in the Chamber to-day upon the affairs of Tunis, including one by M. Massari, with reference to the engagement said to have been taken by Lord Salisbury, which has already been brought before the House of Commons.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 35.

*Extract from "L'Italie" of April 6, 1881.*

Paris, le 4 Avril.

*Chambre des Députés.*—Le Ministre Farre donne des informations sur les faits de Tunis. Il dit qu'il y a eu un combat qui a duré onze heures et dans lequel nous avons eu quatre morts et six blessés. En présence de cet incident le Gouvernement a pris les mesures nécessaires pour agir avec toute la vigueur que comporte la situation.

Paris, le 4 Avril.

*Séance du Sénat.*—M. Ferry fait une déclaration semblable à celle de M. Farre à la Chambre. Il ajoute que des mesures ont été prises pour empêcher de nouvelles incursions des Kroumirs.

Paris, le 4 Avril.

D'après un télégramme du "Temps," le Caïd Tunisien Hassouna, réunit, Vendredi dernier, environ 3,000 hommes de la tribu de Kegla, qui se rendirent à Sidielaneschi, sur la frontière, pour surprendre le Commandant Français du cercle de Soukakarras, sous le prétexte de conférer avec un officier.

Le Commandant, informé à temps, put se retirer.

Les employés du chemin de fer Bône-Tunis craignent à tout moment que la ligne ne soit coupée.

Des dépêches de Guelma signalent le passage de trois régiments dirigés à la frontière.

Toulon, le 4 Avril.

Six grands transports se préparent à partir demain avec 10,000 rations.

Le croiseur "Tourville" portera des approvisionnements de campagne pour quarante officiers.

#### No. 36.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)*

(No. 139.)

My Lord,

Rome, April 7, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt, in cypher R, of your Lordship's telegram No. 206 of yesterday's date, giving the substance of your Lordship's communication with the Italian Ambassador respecting the action and intentions of the French Government in regard to Tunis, and to inform your Lordship that I have sent a copy of that telegram, in a private note, to M. Cairoli this morning.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

#### No. 37.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)*

(No. 141.)

My Lord,

Rome, April 7, 1881.

THE attempt to overthrow the Ministry upon a motion of blame upon Admiral Acton's administration of the navy, which I reported in my despatch No. 110 of the 24th ultimo, is now being repeated upon the Tunisian question.



The political fate of Tunis has always been, and always will be, as I have frequently before observed, a subject of deep and legitimate public interest in Italy, and it certainly can be no matter for surprise that such intelligence as has recently come from France, accompanied as it has been by the comments of a considerable and important portion of the French press, should create alarm in Italy, and that there should be a desire to obtain from the Ministers of the Crown the fullest explanations upon their policy in regard to Tunis, and upon what has happened, or is likely to happen, with other Powers in regard to this important question.

Interrogations were accordingly addressed to the President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the sitting of the Chamber yesterday; (1) as to the reported engagements between England and France as regards Tunis; (2) as to the grave menace which a French occupation of Tunis would be to the vital interests of Italy, and to the policy and measures which the Government had adopted for preventing such a contingency.

The accompanying extract from the "Italie" gives a summary account of the proceedings and of the reply of the Minister.

To the first question, which came from M. Massari, a Deputy of the Right, his Excellency replied by denying the existence of any engagements of the nature referred to, of which M. Massari declared that he took act without being satisfied.

The second question was addressed by the Marquis Rudini, also a Member of the Right, supported by Signor Damiani, who belongs to the extreme Left, and in his reply the President of the Council made an exposition of the disorderly state of affairs on the Tunisian frontier, stating that the action being now taken by the French Government was simply with a view to the repression of the acts of depredation and aggression by the native tribes, &c., and that the French Government had disavowed in the most formal manner any intention of conquests.

These statements were received by the Chamber, which was in a most excited humour, in a way to show that they were not considered satisfactory, and Signor Damiani, after making a reply, concluded with a motion of blame upon the Ministry, the discussion of which, at the request of the Prime Minister, was fixed for to-day, and it seems not at all improbable that the result may end in a defeat of the Ministry.

Last night, indeed, it was said that a deputation of the Left had waited upon M. Cairoli urging him to resign before the vote, because, should a Ministry of the Left be again defeated, it might be open to the King to send for some one of the Right to form the new Administration.

I mentioned in my despatch No. 127 of the 31st ultimo that the idea of some of the Right was to detach M. Depretis from his present colleagues, and adopt him as their Chief; and the opinion last night seemed to be that if the Government are defeated to-day a combination under the auspices of M. Depretis is not an impossibility.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 38.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 144.)

My Lord,

Rome, April 8, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract from the "Italie" giving an account of yesterday's proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies, which ended in a defeat of the Ministry by a majority of twenty-one on a motion for the adjournment of the debate upon the Tunisian question, presented by Signor Zanardelli.

Your Lordship need be under no apprehension as to the consequences of this vote as regards the policy of any future Administration towards France with reference to the affairs of Tunis. They will be no more anxious than their predecessors to compromise their relations with the French Government upon this question.

The different speakers against the Government were careful in the debate, and the Opposition press are careful this morning to guard against any inferences of a hostile nature towards France.

The "Opinione" says distinctly that the vote of yesterday is not to be understood as having any special reference to the Tunisian question, but, on the contrary, in the more general sense of disapprobation of the manner in which the relations of Italy with foreign countries has been conducted.

To me, however, as an impartial observer, I must say the moment appears to be ill-chosen for inflicting blame upon the Ministry for their foreign policy. The Italian Government, under Signor Cairoli, has worked steadily and honestly with the other Powers of Europe for the solution of the difficult questions in the East, and for the maintenance of peace; and I am not aware of the policy of Italy having at any previous time been regarded with less suspicion than it is at present.

I believe, therefore, I am correct in regarding the vote of yesterday as one of the ordinary episodes of Italian Parliamentary life, to which little, if any, political importance is to be attached, at all events as far as foreign policy is concerned.

M. Cairoli has been in office for nearly two years, and there are many aspirants for his place.

The Electoral Reform Bill is under discussion, and were he to remain in, would certainly be carried. An attempt to prevent this by a side-wind was, as stated in a previous despatch, made by attacking the naval administration of Admiral Acton. This attempt, however, having miscarried, a renewed effort has been made upon the Tunisian question, and it has been successful.

On leaving the Chamber, M. Cairoli proceeded to the Quirinal and tendered the resignation of the Cabinet to the King, who desired time for reflection before making known his Royal decision.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 39.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 329.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 10, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship an article from the number of the "Temps" newspaper of to-day's date on the statements relative to the question of Tunis reported to have been made in the Italian Parliament by M. Cairoli.

The article begins by quoting a note which has appeared in the "Agence Havas" on the subject of these statements, and which concludes with the affirmation that the French Government have made no engagement with any one respecting the Tunisian affair and that their liberty of action is, as it always ought to be, complete ("le Gouvernement Français n'a pris aucun engagement avec personne sur l'affaire Tunisienne et sa liberté d'action est entière, ainsi qu'elle doit toujours l'être").

The article goes on to say that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire has addressed a Circular to the French Representatives abroad, in order to record the true meaning of the conversation which he had with General Cialdini, the Italian Ambassador here.

The article proceeds to state that the substance of what M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said was, that the French Government had no official communications to make to other Governments; that he could do no more than inform them unofficially ("à titre en quelque sorte officieux") that for the moment the object of the operation undertaken against the Kroumirs was to re-establish order on the Algerian frontier; but that as he did not yet know what might be the attitude of the Bey's Ministers, it was impossible to make beforehand precise declarations as to what France might or might not do ("il était impossible de formuler d'avance des déclarations précises sur ce que la France ferait ou ne ferait pas le cas échéant").

The article is no doubt authorized or (as the phrase is) inspired.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 40.

Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.

(No. 259.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 11, 1881, 1.45 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 167 of the 9th instant.

Pray say in reply that we appreciate desire to know our opinion.

We are desirous that the *status quo* should be maintained in Tunis.

Our Agent there is instructed, if applied to, to advise the Bey to join the French in necessary measures to settle frontier difficulties. We hope the Sultan will give the same advice.



*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 271. Extender.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 11, 1881.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 167 of the 9th instant, stating that the Sultan had asked you secretly and personally what was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on the Tunisian question.

I have to request that your Excellency will inform His Majesty that Her Majesty's Government appreciate his wish to learn their views; that they are desirous that the *status quo* should be maintained in Tunis; and that they have instructed Her Majesty's Agent in the Regency, should his advice be sought, to recommend the Bey to join the French authorities in any necessary measures to settle the frontier difficulties.

Her Majesty's Government hope that the Sultan will give similar advice to the Bey.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12.)*

(No. 33.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 5, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a cypher telegram to the following effect:—

The announcement published in certain of the French newspapers, as well as by the Havas Agency, that a decision had been come to by the French Government to send a military force to operate on the Tunisian side of the frontier, and chastise the Hamir tribe, appears to be confirmed by a message verbally communicated to the Prime Minister by M. Roustan, no account being apparently taken of the energetic measures which the Bey had already taken to maintain order, so far as he is concerned. Some of the Arabs on the Tunisian side of the frontier, apprehending a military invasion of their territory, have armed themselves, and much excitement reigns throughout that district of the Regency. The Bey's Government has received no official confirmation of the aggressive acts which are alleged to have been committed by its subjects on the frontier, and, in a conversation which took place yesterday between M. Roustan and the Prime Minister, the former expressed satisfaction at the energetic measures taken by the Bey, who is prepared, if necessary, to send his brother, Sy Ali Bey, with an army of 5,000 men to the frontier. It is clear, therefore, that the above-stated decision of the French Government to invade this country is, to say the least, premature, if true; and, looking to the serious consequences that would result from such an invasion, and the harm that would accrue to British interest therefrom, I venture to submit to your Lordship whether steps should not be taken to reassure the public mind, in the present instance, and neutralize, if possible, this system of mendacious assertion and perpetual menace.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12.)*

(No. 331.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 11, 1881.*

I SHOWED M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire this afternoon the despatch No. 328, dated the 7th instant, in which your Lordship has done me the honour to give me an account of a conversation which you had on that day with M. Challemel-Lacour respecting the French expedition to the frontier of Tunis.

After reading it, his Excellency said that M. Challemel-Lacour had stated to your Lordship very accurately the views of the French Government. He added that he had already received by telegraph from M. Challemel-Lacour a report of the language used by your Lordship; that he had certainly nothing to criticize in it, and that it only remained for him to express his thanks to me for communicating it to him again.

I then, on the understanding that the communication should be treated as a verbal one, let M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire read your Lordship's despatch No. 340 of the day before

yesterday, in which you direct me to make known to him the substance of the instruction sent by you the day before by telegraph to Mr. Reade, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Tunis.

Having finished the perusal of the despatch, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire read out in French the passage stating that, should there be a prospect of further action on the part of France, it might be necessary to send vessels of war to Tunis to protect the life and property of British subjects against a possible outbreak of Mahomedan fanaticism.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that undoubtedly, in case there should be a probability that life and property would be in danger, every nation would feel bound to provide for the safety of its own people. In such a contingency the French Government also would send ships of war to Tunis, which it was not now their intention to do.

I proceeded to inform M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that the purport of the instruction to Mr. Reade mentioned in the despatch was that he should study the spirit of his instructions and maintain a careful reserve, and that if his advice was asked, he should recommend the Bey to co-operate with the French in the punishment of any recent outrages.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that, speaking frankly, he must tell me that he heard from Tunis that Mr. Reade seemed to be in too close alliance with the Italian Consul. The caution to him to be reserved might not therefore be needless.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire pointed out, on the one hand, the great interests which France possessed in Tunis, and, on the other hand, the great benefits she would confer upon the Regency if French enterprise were encouraged instead of being obstructed by the Bey.

He mentioned, among other instances of the predominance of French interests, that while the Tunisian debt amounted in all to 125,000,000 fr. (5,000,000*l.*), 90,000,000 fr. (3,600,000*l.*) were held by Frenchmen.

He observed, in conclusion, that the levity and the caprices of the Tunisian Government could no longer be tolerated. The Bey must, he said, make a proper Treaty with France, and observe it.

I remarked that it seemed to me that the best policy on the part of France would be to deal as quickly as possible with the Kroumirs, and finish the whole affair out of hand on the frontier, without going further and raising awkward questions.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, April 12.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 10 Avril, 1881.*

NOUS sommes informés par le Pacha de Tunis qu'il a pris les mesures nécessaires pour châtier les incursions de quelques tribus Tunisiennes du côté de l'Algérie.

Nous nous sommes empressés d'engager instamment Son Altesse à imprimer à ces mesures de répression la plus grande vigueur et célérité, de manière à écarter tout ce qui serait de nature à faire à cette occasion un conflit à l'encontre des sentiments d'amitié réciproque de la Sublime Porte et du Gouvernement Français.

Nous sommes persuadés que les mesures en question du Gouverneur-Général de Tunis suffiront amplement pour le rétablissement du calme sur les frontières.

Veillez faire part de ce qui précède à son Excellence Lord Granville.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12, 1 P.M.)*

(No. 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 11, 1881, 7.40 A.M.*

M. ROUSTAN yesterday communicated to the Bey the reply of the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris to His Highness' letter protesting against the invasion of his territory. The French Government persist in their original determination, without any modification thereof. On your Lordship's telegram No. 15 I have recommended co-operation with the French in the punishment of the Hamirs.

The advice has had a very depressing effect. The Bey feels that such co-operation on



his part would lead to a general insurrection of his subjects throughout Tunisian State. He hoped that, in view of the general interests at stake and the uncalled-for nature of the impending hostilities, the other Great Powers would have intervened to prevent what he regards as a flagrant violation of international Treaty.

I cannot conceal my own conviction that if the French enter Tunisian territory and occupy, as they have indicated it may be necessary for them to do, the Valley of Majerdab, there will not be wanting pretexts for insisting to remain permanently in the country. The flag of insurrection will, I apprehend, spread all over the Regency, and with the best part of the Bey's troops on the frontier, it will not be possible to answer for the security of foreigners resident here. The Bey's own neck will, I conceive, be in danger. Nothing short of permanent occupation would, it appears to me, repay French for the terrible responsibility they would assume in engaging in hostilities against this country; hostilities for which, so far as I can judge, there has never perhaps been less cause than now.

A courier just arrived from the frontier reports that a detachment of French cavalry crossed over into the Tunisian territory two days ago and remained the greater part of the day there, to the great consternation of the natives, who were with difficulty restrained by their commanding Chief from offering any opposition. The aggressive force, it is said, returned in the afternoon to their side, taking with them as prisoner an Arab whom they found attending to his private affairs.

## No. 46.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 12, 6 P.M.)*

(No. 21.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 11, 1881.*

THE impression prevalent in England respecting independence of the Hamir tribe is erroneous. The district they inhabit forms part of the Tunisian territory. They are governed by the Bey's officers, to whom they from time to time pay tribute. Not long ago the Bey had to incur heavy damages for depredations of this tribe on the occasion of the wreck of the steamer "Auvergne." These damages were subsequently recovered by the Bey from the Hamirs.

## No. 47.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 13.)*

(No. 336.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 12, 1881.*

A DEBATE took place yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies on an interpellation addressed to the Government by M. Janvier de la Motte respecting the Tunisian question.

The point of the interpellation was that the military measures of the Government were on a scale which implied war, and that this constituted a violation of the Organic Law, which forbids war to be declared without the consent of the Chambers. "Vous armez tous les cuirassées de notre flotte," said M. Janvier de la Motte, "tous nos vaisseaux de transport; vous nolisiez les navires de commerce, et vous transportez du nord de la France dans l'Algérie des marins et des soldats. Cela ne semble-t-il constituer au premier chef des préparatifs de guerre?"

M. Jules Ferry, the President of the Council, replied that he had nothing to add to the explanations he had already given to the Chambers. "Nous avons dit," he said, "que nous entrons sur la terre de la Tunisie à la fois pour châtier des agressions et pour mettre terme à une situation qui est absolument intolérable, . . . nous allons en Tunisie pour châtier les méfaits que vous connaissez; nous y allons en même temps pour prendre toutes les mesures qui pourront être nécessaires pour en empêcher le renouvellement."

"Le Gouvernement de la République ne cherche pas de conquêtes, il n'en a pas besoin. . . . Il ira dans la répression militaire qui commence jusqu'au point où il faut qu'il aille pour mettre à l'abri, d'une façon sérieuse et durable, la sécurité et l'avenir de cette France Africaine (Algeria)."

A storm was raised by an insinuation made by M. Lenglé that the Enfida affair was at the bottom of the present expedition to Tunis, as the Jecker affair had been at the bottom of the expedition to Mexico under the Empire.

With regard to this matter, M. Jules Ferry spoke as follows:—

"Je répète qu'entre cette opération militaire et l'affaire d'Enfida il n'y a aucune

relation directe ou indirecte; que l'affaire de l'Enfida, comme le rappelait tout à l'heure M. le Président, a donné lieu à un débat international, et que ce débat étant ouvert entre la France et ce grand et loyal pays de l'Angleterre, il n'y a lieu de faire intervenir entre ces deux grandes nations que les règles de la justice et les considérations de l'équité pour arriver à une solution."

At the end of the debate the Chamber adopted, by 322 votes to 124, the following order of the day:—

"La Chambre, approuvant la conduite du Gouvernement, et pleine de confiance dans sa prudence et dans son énergie, passe à l'ordre du jour."

I have the honour to inclose the full Report of the debate given in the "Journal Officiel" of this morning.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## No. 48.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 13.)*

(No. 337.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 12, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship two despatches from Colonel Brackenbury of yesterday and to-day.

The first reports a conversation with Colonel Richard, Chef du Cabinet du Ministre de la Guerre, on the military preparations for the Tunis expedition.

The second gives the detail of troops selected for service in connection with the expedition, and remarks upon the system upon which they have been selected.

Both contain information of much interest, and are well worthy of attention in estimating the objects and probable results of the expedition.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.*

My Lord,

*Paris, April 11, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 9th instant I received from Colonel Richard, Chef du Cabinet of the Minister of War, some maps of Tunis and Algeria, and a note from which the following is an extract:—"Quant à l'état des troupes qui prendront part aux opérations contre les Kroumirs, il n'est pas encore définitivement arrêté. Dès que nous aurons la composition exacte des diverses petites colonnes destinées à agir, je me ferai un plaisir de vous envoyer un exemplaire."

I called upon him this morning, thanked him for the maps and the promise, and said that I was anxious to have correct information at the earliest convenient date, because we were at present dependent solely upon accounts in newspapers, that those accounts are conflicting, and give rise to impressions and ideas that are probably exaggerated—more especially as to the preparations being made in France, which, according to certain journals, are assuming formidable proportions, such as the mobilization of three corps d'armée, &c.; and I said I should be glad to have any information which would enable me to rate these preparations at their true value.

Colonel Richard said: "It is absolutely false that we are mobilizing any fraction of our army. Mobilization of any portion of the army requires a law. We cannot call up a single soldier of the reserve, except at the times fixed by law for training, without a law. The nature of the war does not appear sufficiently grave to compel us to ask for authority to mobilize. One corps, or at most two corps, mobilized, would furnish all the troops we can require; and it would be impolitic and unjust to make the whole burden of the war fall upon one region of France, as would be the case were we to take all the troops from one corps. With railways it matters little what distance in France a regiment is moved to the port of embarkation, and there is no need for haste, as no large body of troops can operate on the frontier till roads have been made. We are therefore selecting regiments from different parts of France, those being chosen whose Colonels have served in Algeria, and know the country well. We are sending only two battalions of each of these regiments to Africa, each of these battalions being made up to a strength of 500 by drafts



from the two battalions left in France. As regards batteries, we are pursuing a similar course; and the fact that we are making up our ammunition columns and military train with mules only compels us to bring detachments from different parts of France."

I asked what number of troops they contemplated sending from France to Algeria.

He said that would depend upon the course of events there; that there were (1) the Tunis frontier tribes to be reduced to order, the frontier there had long been insecure and must be made secure; (2) some measures must be taken in consequence of the assassination of the Flatters Mission; and (3) measures for insuring the internal security of Algeria. A rising in Algeria would require a force of 70,000 men. What force would be sent must depend upon the reports and demands of the civil and military authorities in Algeria.

I asked if the Tunis expeditionary force was to be composed of the 19th (Algerian) Corps only, or would also include troops sent from France.

That, he said, rested with General Osmont, commanding in Algeria. He demands certain troops, and disposes of them as he thinks fit. The command of the Tunis expedition is given to General Forgenot de Boustquénard.

Colonel Richard again assured me that no military preparations were being made, and no operations contemplated, except in connection with (1) the security of the Tunisian frontier, where the Bey is himself incapable of maintaining order, and (2) with the internal condition of Algeria. He again repeated that the declaration made by the Minister in the Chamber was absolutely frank and loyal, and that there was no *arrière-pensée* of any kind.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Paris, April 12, 1881.

FROM the inclosed list, which, though doubtless incomplete, contains, so far as I can gather, the detail of the troops ordered from France to Algeria up to the present date, it will be seen that troops have been taken from no less than five corps d'armée, in order to form a force of less than 12,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 24 guns, for dispatch to Africa.

The question at once arises, why has the Government not followed the simple course of mobilizing and dispatching to the theatre of war one or more entire organized divisions? It cannot be doubted that such a course would have been of great military advantage. It would, by testing practically the arrangements for mobilization, have afforded to France just such a valuable experience as Prussia gained by the mobilization of two divisions on the Polish frontier in 1863, and by the mobilization of four divisions for the Danish war. In the event of war in Europe occurring during the progress of the war in Africa, none of the arrangements for mobilizing the rest of the army would have been injured; and that army would take the field, reduced in strength by one or two divisions, but with all its other units complete and unbroken.

By the course actually adopted all the advantages of the German territorial system, adopted by France, are apparently thrown away. No less than eight divisions are temporarily disorganized, and no experience in mobilization is gained.

This has not escaped the attention of the enemies of the existing Government. Attacks, more or less violent, such as that in the inclosed article from "*Le Clairon*" of the 10th instant, are being made upon the Minister of War. The line of defence for the course actually adopted was sketched to me by Colonel Richard in the conversation reported in my despatch of yesterday, and is more fully developed in the inclosed articles from the "*République Française*" of yesterday and to-day, which are evidently inspired by the Ministry of War.

The question has, I am inclined to believe, been considered in its political rather than in its military aspect by the Minister of War.

A very small peace effective is essential to the existing system of short service, the object being, with a minimum expenditure in peace, to obtain a maximum strength in war. The number of men present with the colours, in peace, is therefore so reduced that a battalion represents an effective strength of scarcely 250 men. In order to raise any portion of the army to its war strength, the reserves must be called up, and for this the consent of the Chamber and the Senate is required. This the Government might now probably have obtained; but the whole scheme of mobilization hinges upon the territorial

distribution of the reserves. Soldiers of the reserve are told off to certain regiments, the nearest to their place of abode; so that the result of mobilizing one or two divisions would be to throw the whole burden of completing those divisions to war strength upon one or two territorial districts, which would see all their young men sent to Africa, while the rest of France escaped scot-free.

It can scarcely be doubted that this would be most unpopular in the regions selected for mobilization, and that no arguments based on considerations of military policy would suffice to justify it in the eyes of the districts affected. It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to suppose that, on the eve of general elections, the Government is anxious to avoid provoking hostility in any part of the country, and that political considerations have outweighed military considerations, which would have dictated partial mobilization.

The following has been the course actually adopted by the Minister of War:—He has taken all available men from the 3rd and 4th battalions of eleven regiments, and has transferred them into the first two battalions of those regiments, thus producing for service two battalions in each regiment, less than 500 strong each, not containing one soldier over four years' service, and with half the men unknown to, and by, their officers. These regiments will be brigaded under Brigadiers and staff with whom they have never served. In fact, all the worst vices of the old French system in existence before 1870 are grafted upon the new system. The solid strong regiments, largely composed of old soldiers, which existed under the old system, have ceased to exist under the new, and all the advantages of the new system are deliberately abandoned.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

No. 49.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 13.)

(No. 338. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 12, 1881.

WITH my two immediately preceding despatches I have transmitted to your Lordship the Report of an interpellation in the Chamber on the expedition to Tunis, and two important despatches from Colonel Brackenbury on the military preparations for that expedition.

In my despatch No. 331 of yesterday I had the honour to report to your Lordship a conversation which I had had with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire on the subject.

There may perhaps be nothing to prove that at this moment the French Government contemplate doing more than chastising the border tribes, settling outstanding questions with the Bey of Tunis, and placing French influence in a preponderating situation, without modifying in form the independence of the Regency.

I cannot, however, say that there is anything to diminish the apprehension that the French Government may be led much beyond this eventually.

In the Chamber, M. Jules Ferry spoke of the entrance of the French troops on Tunisian territory as a matter of course, while he stated, perhaps rather more vaguely than before, the results which the expedition is to secure.

France appears to have a large naval force at Toulon; and by sending troops by sea to Bizerta, instead of to the frontier, she might land a force which would immediately threaten the city of Tunis.

Your Lordship will have observed that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire spoke to me of concluding a Treaty with the Bey, and taking care that it should be observed. The step from such a Treaty to a Protectorate might not be a long one.

Nor would it be prudent to leave altogether out of the account the semi-official declarations which I inclosed in my despatch No. 329 of the day before yesterday, to the effect that the French Government has made no engagement with any one respecting Tunis, and that its liberty of action is, as it always ought to be, complete.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.



*General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received April 13.)*

(Particulière.)

M. le Comte,

35, Queen's Gate, South Kensington, le Avril, 1881.

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence, pour son information, et en voie confidentielle, la copie ci-jointe de deux télégrammes que le Ministre Royal des Affaires Etrangères a reçus hier du Consul d'Italie à Tunis. Je crois qu'il est utile que votre Excellence connaisse le rôle que notre Agent joue à Tunis et qu'on dénature singulièrement dans une certaine presse.

Veuillez, &c.  
(Signé) L. F. MENABREA.

Inclosure in No. 50.

*Telegrams from the Italian Consul-General at Tunis, dated April 12, 1881.*

IL y désaccord complet entre les assertions des journaux Français et la version Tunisienne relativement aux faits qui se sont passés à la frontière. Ce n'est pas pour attaquer les Français, mais pour se défendre elles-mêmes que les tribus se sont armées. Après qu'on a tant parlé d'invasion, elles restent encore dans un état de calme relatif. Le chemin de fer n'est point menacé. Cependant, pour tranquilliser les employés Français, le Gouvernement Tunisien a pris des mesures de surveillance. Si l'armée Française ne franchit pas la frontière, le Bey pourrait avec ses propres moyens donner satisfaction aux réclamations contre les Kroumirs; mais dans le cas d'une marche en avant nous assisterons sans doute à des événements très fâcheux.

Les populations sont très excités dans toute la Régence. Des points les plus éloignés du territoire accourent des cavaliers, et les troupes du Bey seraient en danger elles-mêmes si elles ne s'unissaient pas aux tribus pour combattre les envahisseurs. Malheureusement il paraît que les événements vont précipiter. Aujourd'hui le Consul de France a notifié au Bey qu'on ne tiendra pas compte de ses observations et que les Commandants Français régleront leur conduite sur celles des soldats Tunisiens et les tiendront responsables des conséquences d'un conflit. Le Bey doit lui répondre que ses troupes ne se sont pas mises en mouvement pour en venir aux mains avec l'armée Française, mais bien pour aller rétablir un état de choses régulier à la frontière. Toutefois, si l'armée Française viole le territoire, les tribus se trouveront attaquées chez elles et dès lors sa défense et ses efforts ne pourront pas les empêcher de s'y opposer.

L'essentiel, par conséquent, est que la frontière Algérienne ne soit pas franchie par les Français, et il n'y en aurait en effet nul besoin pour réduire les Kroumirs à l'obéissance, le Bey étant décidé à rendre justice à la France et en donnant la preuve par les mesures qu'il a adoptées.

Je n'ai rédigé et je n'ai eu à rédiger aucune protestation du Bey. La nouvelle donnée par l'Agence Havas à ce sujet n'est que la continuation du système de calomnie dont on use à mon égard et qui sert pour exciter avec l'épouvantail des intrigues Italiennes l'opinion publique en France. En réalité, je me suis toujours conformé à la réserve exigée par les circonstances et j'ai toujours donné des conseils de conciliation quand on m'a interpellé. Hier une colonne Française a franchi la frontière Tunisienne. Les tribus voulaient réagir; mais elles ont obéi aux fonctionnaires du Bey et y ont renoncé. Après avoir bivouaqué toute la journée, la colonne Française s'est retirée le soir sur le territoire Algérien et a ramené avec elle un montagnard qu'on avait saisi dans un champ.

No. 51.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 262.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, April 14, 1881.*

YOUR telegram No. 168 of the 12th.

See Firman of Porte to Pasha of Tunis, dated the 23rd October, 1871.

Full particulars by despatch.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.\**

(No. 263.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, April 14, 1881, 6-30 P.M.*

TURKISH Ambassador informs me that Porte has urged Bey of Tunis to act with the utmost dispatch and vigour in chastising Tunisian tribes raiding in Algeria, so as to avoid anything of a nature to interfere with the friendly sentiments between Porte and French Government.

No. 53.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.†*

(No. 281. Extender.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 14, 1881.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, a copy of a telegraphic despatch from the Porte, which has been communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador, stating that the Ottoman Government has urged the Bey of Tunis to act with the utmost dispatch and vigour in chastising the Tunisian tribes raiding in Algeria, so as to avoid anything of a nature to interfere with the friendly sentiments between the Porte and the French Government.‡

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 54.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received April 15.)*

(No. 150.)

My Lord,

*Rome, April 12, 1881.*

IN the account given by the "Times" correspondent of Signor Cairoli's speech of the 6th instant in the Chamber of Deputies, in reply to the questions which had been addressed to him respecting the engagements entered into by Her Majesty's late Government with France in regard to Tunis, it is stated: "Moreover, he had seen Sir Augustus Paget yesterday, who had repeated to him that Lord Salisbury denied in the most absolute manner having entered into any such engagement as that described."—*Vide "Times" of Friday, the 8th April.*

I do not know whether M. Cairoli really made use of this phrase, but I find in the official report of his speech, herewith inclosed, that what his Excellency said is given as follows:—

"The Italian Ambassador, again questioned in consequence of the reports of the newspapers, has answered that Lord Salisbury denied absolutely that any agreement had passed."

As a matter of fact, I must state that I have never exchanged one word of any sort or kind with Signor Cairoli upon the subject in question, but the day before the discussion in the Chamber took place I saw M. Malvano, who (speaking of Sir Charles Dilke's reply in the House of Commons, which, he stated, appeared to him to dispose satisfactorily of all doubts upon the matter), appeared to invite the expression of an opinion on my part upon the occurrences referred to, and what I said was that I had always understood from Lord Salisbury that the interpretation attached to his words was an exaggerated one, and that he had not taken any engagements whatever with France, and this I repeated the next day before Count Maffei, who came in while I was again visiting M. Malvano, and while the question was again being referred to.

Your Lordship will find that in Lord Salisbury's despatch to me No. 17 of the 6th January, 1879, relative to a rumour which had reached Her Majesty's Government that the French Government proposed to assume the Protectorate of Tunis, that I was instructed, in the event of being questioned on the subject, to "state that Her Majesty's Government have carefully avoided expressing an opinion in favour of French as against Italian views in respect to Tunis."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

\* Also to Mr. Reade (No. 16).

† No. 44.

‡ Also to Mr. Reade (No. 22).



No. 55.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, April 15.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 14 Avril, 1881.

REÇU télégramme.

Veillez trouver Lord Granville sans perte de temps et entretenir sa Seigneurie de notre communication avec toute l'importance qu'elle comporte.

J'attends par télégraphe l'avis relatif au résultat de l'entrevue de votre Excellence avec le Chef du Foreign Office.

No. 56.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 353.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 15, 1881.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 331 of the 11th instant, and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve your having communicated to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs my despatches No. 328 of the 7th instant and No. 340 of the 9th instant, and that they also entirely approve the language used by your Excellency to M. B. St. Hilaire on the subject of the Tunisian question, as reported by you in your despatch above mentioned.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 57.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 16.)*

(No. 29.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 15, 1881.

THE embarkation of troops for Africa was still in progress yesterday at Marseilles and Toulon, both naval and hired transports being employed. I have not yet received the detail of the expeditionary columns promised me by the War Office, but, in the meantime, I have the honour to inclose a return, collated from the information given in the newspapers, of the troops embarked or embarking, and their distribution, also a return of those troops of the 19th Algerian Corps which have been sent to the frontier to take part in the expedition.

The attacks upon the Minister of War still continue in the press, but he is stoutly defended by M. Gambetta's organ, the "République Française." I inclose an article from the "Figaro" of yesterday, by that brilliant writer M. Bucheron (Saint-Genest), containing an attack upon the whole existing system of military organization.

This, like other attacks of the same nature, has of course a purely political object. It is absurd now to attack the system of short service and reserves borrowed nine years ago by the French from Germany. The real question at issue is whether, having got that system, the Minister of War is making an intelligent application of it to the present case. On that subject I see no reason to modify the views expressed in my despatch No. 26 of the 12th instant.

The length of time which has been occupied in preparing and embarking a force of about 15,000 men has given rise to much adverse criticism. A remarkable pamphlet recently published on the probable strategical deployment of the German forces on the French frontier shows that one German army could appear before Toul and Verdun on the ninth day from the order for mobilization, a second army could occupy Nancy on the sixth day, and a third could be on the Moselle and commence to invest Epinal on the ninth day.

This pamphlet, the "République Française" informs us, "a été inspirée par un officier supérieur de Génie que le Général Farre a appelé près de lui pour participer directement à ses travaux." Considerable alarm, therefore, is naturally caused by the fact that on the fourteenth day after the action with the Kroumirs, the small force destined for Algeria was still not entirely embarked at Toulon and Marseilles.

My impression is that, subject to the readiness of the transports to embark them,

the troops could have been moved much more rapidly, had the Minister of War seen any necessity for haste. As arrangements for the reception of the troops had to be made in Algeria, and as roads must be made before the columns could act, there was no necessity for hastening the embarkation. In fact, these movements afford no indication whatever of the time required for mobilization in case of European war, with which they have no relation, and it is precisely because no experience whatever is gained by these movements, while the elaborately prepared arrangements for general mobilization are disorganized by them, that the Minister of War appears to me to have acted, from a military point of view, most unwisely, neglecting an admirable opportunity for partially testing the system of mobilization, and deliberately disorganizing the machinery of preparation for a serious war.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

No. 58.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 18.)*

(No. 34.)

My Lord,

Tunis, April 7, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a cypher telegram, of which the following is the purport:—

No. 18. A telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris was this day communicated by M. Roustan to the Bey.

It contained a notification to the effect that a French military expedition, organized for the purpose of inflicting chastisement on the mountaineer tribe of Hamir, had received orders to proceed to the frontier and operate in the Tunisian territory as allies and friends of the Bey; and that the French Government counts upon every facility being afforded by the Government of the Bey for the attainment of the object of the intended expedition, and upon its sanction being given, if necessary, to a temporary occupation by French troops of the valley of the Majerdah.

In reply, the Bey expresses astonishment at the communication now made to him; declares that no specific charge of aggression on the part of his subjects on the frontier has been brought to his notice; refers to the energetic measures he has taken for insuring order on his side of the frontier and the satisfactory results already obtained thereby as a proof that he is both able and willing to preserve tranquillity in that part of his dominions; and hopes that, on being duly informed of the real state of things, the French Government will not prosecute its intention to invade his territory. His Highness terminates by declaring that, in the event of such an invasion taking place, he must, as a vassal of the Sultan, solemnly protest against so flagrant a violation of his rights, holding the French Government responsible for all the consequences that may result therefrom.

If the threatened hostilities are engaged in without sufficient notice being given for placing the general interests of all foreign subjects in security, the serious nature of the responsibility attaching to such an expedition would, it appears to me, be greatly enhanced.

I trust I may be permitted to respectfully suggest whether, in case French troops enter the Tunisian territory, the temporary occupation of the port of Bizerta by a British naval force would not be a desirable counter-move?

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 59.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 18.)*

(No. 35.)

My Lord,

Tunis, April 8, 1881.

REFERRING your Lordship to my telegram No. 18 of yesterday, I have the honour to herewith transmit a copy, with which I have been furnished by the Bey, of His Highness' letter to M. Roustan in reply to the telegraphic notification he had received from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that orders had been given for a French military expedition against the Hamirs, a tribe of mountaineers on the Tunisian side of the frontier.

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Having already reported upon the subject-matter of the Bey's letter, I will add no further remark with regard to it than that His Highness' reference to the gravity of the situation is one which, it appears to me, is worthy of special attention. The invasion of his territory, under existing circumstances, is pretty sure to arouse the fanatical spirit of the natives, and may lead to consequences of a deplorable nature. A state of insurrection and anarchy may be brought about, and the very lives, as well as property, of foreign subjects exposed to the most perilous risks.

For these reasons, and while other measures of a more effective nature may be taken to reassure the public mind, I have felt it my duty to suggest that one or more of Her Majesty's ships may be directed to proceed to these waters.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure in No. 59.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

(Traduction.)

NOUS avons reçu votre lettre du 7 Avril, 1881, par laquelle vous nous annoncez que le Gouvernement de la République a décidé d'infliger un châtement à quelques-unes des Tribus Tunisiennes.

Nous avons été surpris d'une pareille décision prise par un Gouvernement ami, avec lequel nous nous sommes efforcés toujours de maintenir les meilleurs rapports et de conserver son amitié, et qui, en retour, nous traite avec des propos de cette nature, qui nous font beaucoup de peine.

Dans l'affaire qui nous préoccupe nous n'avons vu jusqu'à présent que des petits faits qui sont habituels aux tribus limitrophes et souvent appartenant à un même Etat. Aussitôt que nous avons appris l'existence de quelques troubles du côté de nos frontières nous nous sommes empressés d'envoyer sur les lieux un Kahia délégué par nous, accompagné d'une compagnie de Cavaliers. Par les rapports que ce délégué nous a adressés nous avons eu la certitude que la tranquillité existe dans cette région, et que ces tribus sont plutôt inquiétées pour leur propre sûreté par suite des mouvements militaires qu'ils aperçoivent sur le territoire Français et dont ils se croient être l'objectif.

Quoiqu'il en soit, les troupes que nous venons d'envoyer actuellement, et qui seront bientôt suivies par d'autres, sont plus que suffisantes pour maintenir l'ordre et la tranquillité d'une manière définitive. Dans le cas où il sera établi que quelques-unes de nos tribus auraient commis des méfaits, notre autorité a le pouvoir de s'emparer des coupables et de les punir selon leur crime.

Les mesures prises par nous doivent démontrer à votre Gouvernement les efforts que nous ne cessons d'employer dans ces affaires dans le but de rassurer le Gouvernement de la République sur ce qui pourrait troubler la tranquillité en Algérie.

Nous nourrissons l'espoir que le Gouvernement Français ne mettra plus à exécution ce dont il s'était proposé. S'il persistera, malgré nos assurances, dans cette décision, nous tenons à l'aviser aujourd'hui qu'une semblable détermination jetterait la déconsidération sur nous parmi nos propres populations et dans les pays étrangers; elle pourrait faire naître d'autres complications et des dangers qu'on ne pourrait prévoir en ce moment. En outre, l'entrée des troupes Françaises sur le territoire Tunisien constituerait une violation de nos droits souverains, et porterait un préjudice aux intérêts que les Gouvernements étrangers ont dans notre pays, et qui sont placés sous notre sauvegarde, elle constituerait surtout une violation des droits de la Sublime Porte.

Par tout ce qui précède nous vous déclarons que nous ne pouvons accepter, ni accorder, d'une manière quelconque, l'exécution de la mesure projetée par votre Gouvernement, et qui consiste à faire entrer les troupes Françaises sur notre territoire.

Dans le cas où cette exécution s'effectuerait contre notre volonté, nous rendrons le Gouvernement de la République responsable de toutes les conséquences qui pourraient en résulter.

*Ecrit le 8 Joumada el Oula, 1298 (7 Avril, 1881).*

No. 60.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received April 18.)*

(No. 274. Secret. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Constantinople, April 12, 1881.*

THE Sultan spoke to me on Friday last with reference to the Tunis question. His Majesty approached the subject by telling me he wished to consult me on a matter with regard to which he had not yet allowed the Prime Minister to speak to me. It was in the strictest confidence that he desired to have the advice of England as to the pending difficulties in Tunis.

I stated to His Majesty, in reply, that I was not in a position to speak on the subject. I was myself but imperfectly informed as to what was going on, and I had no instructions which would enable me to give any advice; but I thought I knew the general views of your Lordship and Mr. Gladstone on questions connected with the East sufficiently to be able to state my strong personal impression that Her Majesty's Government would wish to see the *status quo* maintained in Tunis, and would feel the liveliest regret at any fresh difficulties arising which were in any way connected with the Eastern question. But as to any opinion on the course being taken by the French, I could give none at all, not having sufficient data before me.

His Majesty observed with a smile that it was not difficult to form an opinion as to whether a nation were right or wrong in trying to obtain what did not belong to them. On this I observed that, so far as I knew, the proceedings of the French were defensive rather than aggressive, but His Majesty replied that he thought the reverse. However, His Majesty did not show any vexation, but spoke of the matter very calmly though very seriously.

Anxious to be able to inform your Lordship what the tendency of the Turkish Government might be, I asked His Majesty whether there were any special points which he had in his mind, but I could obtain no clue to his own views beyond the significant remark that the Bey of Tunis had caused the difficulty by his maladministration.

I call this remark significant, because I have repeatedly heard rumours of the existence of an inclination on the part of the Sultan to make some change as to the Government of Tunis.

In conclusion, His Majesty begged me very particularly to communicate with your Lordship by telegram, and to obtain instructions as to the advice which I might tender him on behalf of Her Majesty's Government for his guidance in this new difficulty which was besetting him.

I have since seen the French Ambassador, and casually asked him how matters were going as regards Tunis. He told me that the account they had to settle with the Bey was very heavy, and reminded me of a previous conversation which we had last year, in which he had declared to me very positively that the French did not recognize, and had never recognized, the suzerainty of the Porte over Tunis.

I think it would be useful if a précis of the last arrangements made between the Porte and the Bey, and the attitude of the various Powers as regards the conclusion of those arrangements, could be supplied to this Embassy. A cursory search in the archives has thus far not furnished the necessary materials.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

No. 61.

*Consul-General Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received April 18.)*

(No. 3.)

*Algiers, April 14, 1881.*

My Lord,

IN continuation of my despatch No. 2 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to report that no news of further military operations on the frontier have reached Algiers. It is generally believed that the force now being collected will not be able to advance for several weeks.

About 12,000 men have already been collected between La Calle and Souk Ahras, and, as soon as these have advanced, another division of the same strength will replace them. The supreme command is exercised by General Forgemol, under whom are Generals Vincendon and Ritter.



It is exceedingly difficult to obtain accurate information, and orders have been given to refuse all telegrams containing news of the movements of troops. I have therefore no idea as to what is intended, but judging from my own knowledge of the country, I should think that the Kroumirs could be very easily reduced by the combined operations of two forces, one entering the Regency from the frontier, and the other landing at Tabarca and advancing to meet it.

Public feeling is in a most excited state, and whereas a few days ago a rectification of frontier was the utmost talked of, now nothing short of an entire occupation of the Regency is advocated.

I have had no reason to change the opinion I ventured to express in my last despatch, that the misdeeds of the Kroumirs would never have been heard of had there not been a distinct determination at Paris to bring the Tunisian question to a crisis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 62.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 18.)*

(No. 30.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 17, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose an article from "L'Armée Française" of this date, giving further details of the organization of the Tunis expeditionary force. It appears that the force is so be divided into three columns.

The left column, under command of Général de Division Déléhéque, will consist of three mixed brigades under Generals Vincendon, Galland, and Ritter. The composition of the two first of these brigades, sent from France, I gave in my despatch No. 29 of the 15th instant.

The centre column will consist of cavalry under the Général de Brigade Gaume; its object being apparently to maintain the connection between the right and left columns.

The right column, under Général de Brigade Logerot, will consist of two mixed brigades, the first taken from the 19th (Algerian) Corps, the second from France, under Général de Brem, described in my despatch No. 29 of the 15th instant.

There will apparently remain a considerable body of the 19th Corps at Bône, not attached to any of these columns. So far as I can ascertain, the naval transports which took the French troops to Bône are remaining at that port, so that all is ready for the embarkation of a column there, if it should be considered desirable to land troops at Bizerta, to overawe the Bey at Tunis. It is probable that the right column will operate along the line of railway from the frontier.

The battle as to the manner in which the expeditionary force has been formed in France continues. The "Avenir Militaire" of yesterday, in an article which I inclose, argues that under the existing law the Minister of War could not have mobilized one corps, but that he must have mobilized the whole or none; and it urges that the law should be changed so as to authorize partial mobilization.

But the power which made the existing law can alter or modify it at any time by a new law. The Minister of War must have gone to the Legislature for authority to mobilize at all, and he might at the same time have obtained power to mobilize only one or two divisions for this special emergency, had he thought fit to do so.

I discussed the question last night with M. Waddington, the ex-Minister. He tells me the opinion is gaining ground that certain troops, as before the war of 1870, should always be kept in readiness for war, so as to avoid the necessity either for partial mobilization, or for such dislocation of the army as has now taken place.

An article in the "Temps" of last night, inclosed, contains the views which I have ventured to submit in my previous despatches on this subject, with this strong additional point, that one or more of the existing constituted units might have been brought up to sufficient strength to form the expeditionary force, by merely calling up the soldiers of the active army on furlough, who are under the Minister's control, and who could therefore be called up without actual mobilization or appeal to the Legislature.

The "Temps" considers that there is no need to alter the existing law, and that all that is needed is courage on the part of the Government to put the law in force. In that opinion I entirely agree. Prussia had the courage to mobilize partially on several occasions before her great war of 1866; and unless the necessary spirit of sacrifice is to be found in

this country on the part of the people, and the necessary resolution on the part of the Government to apply the system of universal obligatory service, whenever the need, large or small, arises, that system, as the "Temps" justly remarks, "n'aboutira qu'à une immense illusion."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

No. 63.

*General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received April 18.)*

(Personnelle.)

M. le Comte,

*35, Queen's Gate, South Kensington, le 15 Avril, 1881.*

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence, à titre de renseignement, un télégramme en date d'hier, du Consul-Général d'Italie à Tunis, dans lequel sont référés la proposition faite par M. Roustan au Bey de se concerter avec la France pour les opérations contre les Kroumirs, et le refus qu'y a opposé Son Altesse.

Je saisis, &c.  
(Signé) L. F. MENABREA.

Inclosure in No. 63.

*M. Cairoli to General Menabrea.*

*Le 15 Avril, 1881.*

(Télégraphique.)

L'AGENT et Consul-Général de Sa Majesté à Tunis télégraphie ce qui suit en date du 14 courant :—

"Aujourd'hui le Consul de France a été voir le Bey pour lui dire qu'il désirait se concerter avec Son Altesse pour les opérations contre les Kroumirs.

"Le Bey, en lui exprimant ses meilleurs sentiments envers la France, a déclaré à M. Roustan que, pour les raisons indiquées dans les notes qu'il lui avait adressées, il ne pouvait pas accepter ses propositions; qu'il était prêt à rendre justice à ses réclamations, si on lui en laissait la liberté; que son frère aîné part demain avec les troupes, muni de pleins pouvoirs; que la tranquillité dont on jouit à la frontière devait être une sûre garantie de sa ferme volonté de remplir son devoir.

"L'Agent et Consul-Général de France a cherché alors d'obtenir le consentement de Son Altesse au tracé d'une ligne de démarcation que les troupes Françaises ne dépasseraient pas, mais le Bey a aussi décliné cette proposition, en engageant vivement M. Roustan à persuader le Gouvernement Français à ne pas insister dans sa demande et à le laisser agir tout seul.

"M. Roustan ayant alors demandé à Son Altesse ce que les troupes Tunisiennes feraient si les colonnes Françaises entraient dans le territoire de la Régence, le Bey a répondu qu'elles se retireraient, son intention étant de ne commettre aucune hostilité contre la France et de maintenir avec elle les meilleurs rapports.

"L'entretien a fini avec la promesse de M. Roustan qu'il rendra compte à Paris des sentiments exprimés par Son Altesse sans toutefois lui garantir que ces déclarations serviront à modifier l'attitude du Gouvernement de la République."

No. 64.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)*

(No. 36.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 8, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a telegram to the following effect :—

No. 19. The Bey's officers on the frontier report, and their report is confirmed by European gentlemen who have visited that district, that French troops are approaching the frontier from the Algerine side in six or seven columns, each column numbering from 1,500 to 2,000 men, and that one of these columns has even crossed the Tunisian boundary. This military movement has spread consternation among the Hamir tribe, who had already laid down their arms and returned to their homes, in pursuance of the pacific assurances they had received from their Chiefs. No conflict of any importance appears to have taken place between them and the French troops, except on the 30th



ultimo, when, as shown by the fact that the fight occurred on Tunisian grounds, the latter were the aggressors. On that occasion, fifteen Hamirs and seven Algerine soldiers were killed.

Owing to the above hostile demonstration and the threatening tone of the French telegrams and press, a good deal of excitement and alarm is manifested by the natives generally.

Under these circumstances, the continued security of our numerous and widely scattered colony cannot be guaranteed, except by such special and effective measures as your Lordship may think proper to adopt in the present emergency. In those measures, I venture to hope, may be included the immediate dispatch to these waters of one or more of Her Majesty's ships.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 65.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)*

(No. 37.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 11, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a telegram to the following effect:—

No. 20. The reply of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Bey's letter protesting against any invasion of his territory was yesterday communicated to His Highness by M. Roustan. The determination to punish the Hamir tribe is persisted in by the French Government, who decline to modify their original intention in any way.

Conformably with your Lordship's telegram No. 15, I have recommended this Government to take all possible measures for co-operating with the French in the punishment of the above-mentioned tribe. Such co-operation, however, the Bey apprehends would have the effect of throwing the whole country into a state of insurrection.

The unprovoked character of the threatened hostilities, and the general interests involved in the consequences to which they must give rise, have led His Highness to hope that, by the friendly intervention of the other Great Powers, so manifest a violation of international Treaty will be averted.

I must beg to express my own conviction that, if an invasion of Tunisian territory should unhappily take place, and a portion of it (including, possibly, the Valley of the Majerdah) be occupied by French troops, pretexts will not be wanting for making that occupation permanent. The insurrection, which is pretty sure to follow, will, it is apprehended, spread immediately all over the country, and the security of all foreigners residing here be jeopardized. In such a case, the Bey's own person will, I believe, be in imminent peril.

Except for such an object as that of establishing themselves permanently in this Regency, the French, it appears to me, would scarcely assume the heavy responsibility of a hostile invasion of the country under existing circumstances. Never, perhaps, has there been less cause for such an invasion than at the present moment.

It is reported from the frontier that a detachment of French cavalry entered the Tunisian territory two days ago and remained for some hours there, returning, in the afternoon, to their own side of the frontier, without having encountered any opposition from the natives, one of whom they took prisoner and carried away. Although thrown into a state of effervescence by the arrival of the aggressive force, the natives were with some difficulty restrained by their commanding Chief from engaging in the conflict to which they were provoked.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 66.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)*

(No. 38.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 12, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a telegram to the following effect:—

No. 21. An erroneous impression appears to prevail in England respecting the

independence of the Hamir tribe. They inhabit a district which has always been regarded as part of the Tunisian territory.

Under the government of officers appointed by the Bey, the tribute due to the latter is, from time to time, exacted from them.

That they are subject to the Bey's rule is further shown by the fact that the French have hitherto held the Tunisian Government responsible for depredations committed by them. When, on a recent occasion, the French steamer "Auvergne" was wrecked and plundered in their district, the Bey was called upon to pay a heavy indemnity to the owners of that vessel, recovering from the Hamirs, as he subsequently did, the amount of that indemnity.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 67.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)*

(No. 39.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 13, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 35 of the 8th instant, inclosing a copy of the Bey's letter replying to an official notification made to him by the French Chargé d'Affaires of the intended French military expedition against the Hamirs, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a further letter from M. Roustan to the Bey, informing His Highness that the Government of the Republic are unable to accede to his desire, that the decision to which they have come in respect of the military expedition above-mentioned be abandoned or in any way modified. I beg also to annex a copy of the Bey's reply to that communication.

Having at the same time received from the Bardo a Circular letter which the Bey has addressed to all the other foreign Representatives here with reference to the subject of his correspondence with M. Roustan, a copy of it is likewise respectfully submitted herewith.

To the last-mentioned letter I have merely replied that I would at once communicate its substance to your Lordship.

By telegraph I have endeavoured to keep your Lordship informed of all the principal occurrences that have come to my knowledge in connection with the crisis to which the political relations between France and Tunis have apparently come.

I have little more to add for the present.

At a meeting of all the foreign Representatives which, at the instance of some of my colleagues, was held yesterday, under M. Roustan's presidency, with a view to concert the measures which it may be necessary to take for the security of our respective subjects in the event of a breaking out of hostilities on the frontier, M. Roustan was unable to enlighten us as to the nature or scope of the intended military movements of the French, and assured us that he did not know what instructions may have been given to the military commanders. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to know whether or not to counsel Europeans who reside in the country to remove with their families to this city. The arrival of terrified or panic-stricken refugees, unless in case of pressing urgency, might tend to create unnecessary alarm, or even lead to an outbreak of fanatical despair.

To inquiries (some of them by telegraph from Manchester) which have been made to me as to the prudence of continuing, under present circumstances, to import into Tunis articles of British manufacture, I have been equally at a loss what to advise.

While writing, I am informed that M. Roustan has asked for an audience of the Bey, for the purpose of ascertaining what measures His Highness intends definitively to take on the entrance of French troops into his territory.

The Bey will probably adhere to the protest he has recorded against any invasion of his territory; instruct the commanders of his army to maintain order in the invaded district as far as they may be able to do so; and retire before the advance of the French troops, without offering to them any opposition whatever.

The unexpected and seemingly superfluous nature of M. Roustan's request for an audience, and the mysterious movements, or hesitation to advance, of the invading army, appear to indicate a disposition on the part of the French to negotiate. In such a case I fear that, without the moral support of any of the Great Powers, the Bey may be compelled to yield to conditions of an unreasonable and humiliating character. The forced resignation of the Prime Minister, and a sentence favourable to the Société Marstillaie in the Enfida



case, or payment of a heavy war indemnity, are spoken of in quarters which are generally well informed as the conditions likely to be enforced.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

P.S.—I had already closed this despatch when information reached me as to the upshot of M. Roustan's audience with the Bey. On learning from the latter that the Tunisian troops cannot and will not co-operate with the French in an attack upon their own countrymen, M. Roustan expressed himself as greatly disappointed, and endeavoured to point out and insist upon the advantage of such co-operation. The Bey told him that, to preserve the friendship of France, he was prepared to undergo almost any sacrifice of a personal nature; he would even, for such an object, willingly have one of his arms amputated; but, he added, he was not prepared to kindle an insurrection in the country of more formidable proportions, perhaps, than it is possible now to conceive, with all the concomitant horrors and responsibilities. His Highness further begged M. Roustan to renew the efforts he himself had made to obtain from the Government of the Republic some change or modification of the plan by which they have resolved to redress their alleged grievances against the "Hamirs."

M. Roustan promised to submit the Bey's wishes once more to the consideration of his Government.

T. F. R.

Inclosure 1 in No. 67.

*M. Roustan to the Bey of Tunis.*

Monseigneur,

Tunis, le 9 Avril, 1881.

A LA suite des communications que j'ai reçues ces jours-ci du Gouvernement de votre Altesse au sujet des préparatifs militaires qui ont lieu actuellement en France et en Algérie, en vue de réprimer les attaques des tribus de la frontière, j'ai fait connaître à mon Gouvernement les observations que votre Altesse m'avait adressées à cet égard.

Je reçois à l'instant la réponse de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à ces communications, et je m'empresse d'en transmettre ci-joint le texte à votre Altesse.

J'ai, &c.  
(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 67.

*M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to M. Roustan.*

(Télégraphique.)

Paris, le 6 Avril, 1881.

J'AI reçu vos deux télégrammes concernant les explications que le Bey désire.

Veillez déclarer à son Altesse que nous faisons fond sur l'amitié fidèle dont elle nous a si souvent donné l'assurance et dont nous avons aujourd'hui à réclamer des marques effectives. Un péril sérieux menace l'intégralité de notre territoire et la sécurité des populations qui y vivent sous la protection de nos lois. Le péril vient des tribus insoumises qui occupent une partie des Etats du Bey, et contre lesquelles un devoir impérieux de défense légitime nous oblige d'opérer avec vigueur. Nous ne pouvons malheureusement pas compter sur l'autorité du Bey pour réduire ces tribus, avec l'énergie et la promptitude qui sont indispensables, à un état de soumission qui les rende désormais inoffensives. Mais nous avons le droit de compter sur les forces militaires du Bey pour nous prêter main-forte dans l'œuvre de la répression nécessaire. Nos Généraux reçoivent en conséquence l'ordre de s'entendre amicalement avec les Commandants des troupes Tunisiennes et de les avertir au moment où les besoins des mouvements stratégiques les amèneront à emprunter pour leurs opérations le territoire Tunisien, soit près de la Calle, soit dans la vallée de la Medjerdah. C'est en alliés et en auxiliaires du pouvoir souverain du Bey que les soldats Français poursuivront leur marche, c'est aussi en alliés et en auxiliaires que nous espérons rencontrer les soldats Tunisiens avec le renfort desquels nous voulons châtier définitivement les auteurs de tant de méfaits, ennemis communs de l'autorité du Bey et de la nôtre.

Inclosure 3 in No. 67.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

NOUS avons reçu votre lettre du 9 Avril en réponse à la nôtre du 7 Joumada el Oula et avons pris connaissance des points qui y sont traités.

Vous dites, en premier lieu, qu'il est impossible au Gouvernement de la République de revenir sur la détermination qu'il a prise. Nous nourrissions l'espoir que le contenu de notre réponse aurait suffi pour atteindre le but proposé, d'autant plus que nous vous avions déclaré qu'il était en notre pouvoir de maintenir la tranquillité; mais puisque, à notre grand regret, le Gouvernement Français persiste dans sa première décision, nous nous trouvons dans la nécessité de vous renouveler, malgré notre désir du contraire, les protestations contenues dans notre précédente réponse, pour les mêmes raisons qui y sont indiquées. En effet, nous répétons que l'entrée des troupes Françaises ferait naître des questions et des complications au sujet desquelles nous déclinons toute responsabilité. Nous avons donc la conviction que le Gouvernement de la République, dont nous avons eu toujours à cœur de conserver l'amitié et les bonnes relations, prendra en considération et avec un esprit de justice la situation qui nous serait ainsi faite.

Votre présente lettre contient que les faits arrivés à la frontière sont d'une gravité exceptionnelle. A cela nous vous réitérons notre précédente déclaration que les faits arrivés dans ces derniers temps arrivent en tout temps entre les tribus voisines, même si elles appartiennent à un même Etat. Nous vous fournissons la preuve dans le Rapport ci-inclus, que nous avons reçu des Délégués que nous avons envoyés pour vérifier les faits qui sont arrivés à Khoumir. Vous remarquerez par le contenu de ce Rapport qu'il ne s'agit que d'une affaire de peu d'importance et d'aucune gravité extraordinaire. Le fait qui est réellement d'une gravité extraordinaire dans cette affaire, c'est l'entrée de soldats Français sur notre territoire pour combattre les Khoumirs. Vous relèverez également que les premières agressions sont venues de la part des Algériens et que le combat a eu lieu sur notre territoire.

Répondant maintenant au dernier point de votre lettre, par laquelle vous nous dites que les Généraux Français ont reçu l'ordre de régler leur conduite sur l'attitude que prendront nos soldats, nous vous prions de remarquer qu'il ne peut pas nous venir dans l'idée de traiter les soldats Français autrement qu'avec amitié et bons procédés. Nos troupes n'ont d'autre mission que celle de régler les réclamations réciproques et de punir les criminels dont la culpabilité aura été prouvée. D'ailleurs, le Chef de l'expédition est spécialement chargé de cette mission, il a pour instructions d'accueillir avec empressement les réclamations que les autorités Algériennes lui adresseront au nom des tribus qui auraient eu à souffrir de la part de nos tribus et de les régler avec sollicitude et justice. Si donc les autorités Françaises voudraient prendre cette voie, vous pouvez être certain que ces affaires seront réglées de la manière la plus équitable.

Nous prenons Dieu à témoin de n'avoir eu aucune intention dans cette expédition qui puisse causer la moindre peine au Gouvernement Français, à plus forte raison notre armée ne peut-elle se livrer avec notre consentement à aucun acte regrettable.

Vous ne pouvez pas ignorer, dans tous les cas, qu'à la première nouvelle qui nous est parvenue sur l'affaire qui nous occupe en ce moment, nous avons envoyé des Délégués avec mission de maintenir l'ordre dans ces localités et de prévenir tout conflit, quand même ce serait pour repousser une attaque. Maintenant, si les troupes Françaises se livraient à une attaque sur notre propre territoire contre nos tribus, ceux-ci pourraient contrairement à nos ordres repousser l'attaque. Dans ce cas, nous ne pouvons que décliner toute responsabilité qui pourrait résulter d'un pareil conflit.

Ecrit le 12 Joumada el Oula, 1298 (11 Avril, 1881).

Inclosure 4 in No. 67.

*The Bey of Tunis to Mr. Reade.*

(Traduction.)

IL nous avait été soumis dans ces derniers temps que des conflits avaient eu lieu entre des tribus Tunisiennes et des tribus Algériennes, leurs voisins du côté de la Ragba, dans lesquels des actes de vol et d'autres crimes ont été commis de part et d'autre. Nous avons envoyé immédiatement des Délégués de notre part, sur les lieux, avec mission d'avoir des conférences avec les Délégués Français pour régler ces affaires d'après le mode de règlement en usage entre nous dans ces sortes d'affaires. L'entente n'a pas pu avoir lieu, et, en dernier lieu, le Délégué Algérien s'est abstenu deux fois de se rendre à



la conférence au jour indiqué, sous le prétexte qu'il était indisposé, et enfin qu'il n'avait pas d'instructions.

Pendant ce temps d'autres faits isolés de la même nature ont eu lieu entre des individus de la tribu Tunisienne des Khamirs et quelques individus des tribus Algériennes, faits qui sont habituels aux tribus qui sont voisines entre elles, quand même elles appartiendraient à un même Etat. Aussitôt que cette autre nouvelle nous est parvenue nous avons immédiatement envoyé un Kahia avec une partie de cavaliers pour s'enquérir des faits, rétablir l'ordre, et empêcher nos tribus de se livrer à des voies de fait contre leur voisins, même dans le cas où ceux-ci auraient commencé l'agression. Notre Délégué nous a assuré que nos tribus se sont rendues à cette invitation et que l'ordre n'a plus été troublé.

Ne voulant pas nous arrêter à cette seule mesure nous avons envoyé notre Ministre de la Guerre à la tête d'une colonne expéditionnaire composée de troupes régulières et de cavaliers; nous avons également décidé d'envoyer notre frère, Sidy Ali Bey, avec une autre colonne, qui se mobilise en ce moment dans le but d'assurer définitivement la tranquillité dans cette région et régler les réclamations respectives.

Sur ces entrefaites nous recevons la lettre dont vous trouverez ci-inclus copie, par laquelle M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France nous annonce que le Gouvernement de la République a décidé de faire châtier quelques tribus Tunisiennes. Par la réponse que nous lui avons faite et dont vous trouverez également une copie ci-inclus, nous avons fait savoir à M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France que nous avons déjà pris les mesures nécessaires à l'égard de nos tribus; nous avons en même temps protesté contre l'entrée éventuelle des troupes Françaises sur notre territoire, lequel est considéré par nous comme une violation de nos droits et de ceux de l'Empire Ottoman, dont la Régence fait partie intégrante. Nous avons également fait à la Sublime Porte un rapport détaillé de tout ce qui est arrivé, pour couvrir notre responsabilité vis-à-vis d'elle.

Les intérêts des étrangers des sujets des Puissances Européennes à Tunis étant liés avec ceux de la Régence, nous avons cru devoir nous adresser à vous, ainsi qu'à vos collègues, Représentants des Grandes Puissances, avec prière d'informer votre Gouvernement et leurs Gouvernements respectifs de la situation. Nous nous adressons à leurs sentiments bien connus de justice et d'équité pour qu'ils nous prêtent leurs concours dans le but de sauvegarder nos droits et ceux de l'Empire Ottoman. Nous les prions également de faire cesser les actes et les menaces qui auraient pour effet des dangers dont nous déclinons toute responsabilité.

*Ecrit le 9 Joumada el Oura, 1298 (8 Avril, 1881).*

No. 68.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)*

(No. 40.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 15, 1881.*

CONTINUING my reports on the Franco-Tunisian difficulty, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Sy Ali Bey, eldest brother and heir-apparent of the reigning Bey, but more commonly known by the title of "Bey of the Camp," took his departure yesterday for the frontier at the head of 3,000 troops and 8 pieces of field artillery. This force, added to the division which is already on the frontier under the command of General Sy Selim, the War Minister, and contingents on the march to the same destination from Susa and other towns, will form an army of at least 7,000 men.

On the frontier all is quiet, nothing in the nature of a conflict having occurred there since the 30th or 31st ultimo, when, as before reported, a fight took place on Tunisian ground.

The Hamir Chiefs at the Tunisian General's head-quarters insist on their tribe having done nothing more than repel aggression from the Algerian side, and demand the strictest inquiry into all the facts of the case, declaring themselves ready to afford every satisfaction or reparation that may be called for by the circumstances.

For the report conveyed in a telegram, which is published in some of the Parisian newspapers, that a further action between French troops and Hamirs was fought on the 8th instant, and that 20 of the former and 40 of the latter were on that occasion killed, there is not, I am assured, the slightest foundation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 69.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19.)*

(No. 23.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 18, 1881.*

HAVAS telegram yesterday reports an alleged discharge of musketry by natives at Tabarca upon French gun-boat "Hyène" on the latter's approach to that island. M. Roustan has intimated officially to the Bey determination of French Government to revindicate honour of their flag and expunge reported insult. Nobody here believes the report, the island being very small, and having scarcely any inhabitants. Among latter is a French Consular Agent concerned in the coral fishery. The Bey has sent an officer to investigate the matter. Considerable reinforcements of troops are being dispatched to Tabarca. The gun-boat, as I imagine, may have been taking groundings preparatory to the disembarkation of a French military force, and possible occupation of that part of the Regency.

In view of this further complication, and the irregular and uncertain telegraphic communication under French administration, I venture to suggest that a small Government vessel may be stationed here, to insure certain communication by way of Sicily.

No. 70.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 19, 6:30 P.M.)*

(No. 24.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 19, 1881, 10:45 A.M.*

A LETTER received yesterday from the officer in command at Tabarca reports that a French ship of war approached that part of the coast on the 16th instant, and proceeded to take soundings, and whilst so engaged a parley took place between the Commander and the natives through the medium of a Chief of the Algerian tribe of Arhad, and that permission was asked for a French military party to land and march across the mountains towards Algeria, which was instantly refused, the natives adding that they were all prepared to die rather than consent to such a proposition. The letter speaks of excitement and irritation caused among the natives by the mysterious and seemingly irregular movements of the French ship of war, but no mention is made of a single shot fired upon her. A petition has been addressed to me by British subjects resident here praying that, in view of the prevailing excitement, Her Majesty's Government may be pleased to direct that one or more of Her Majesty's ships may proceed to these waters. A copy of this petition will go by post. In the event of an invasion of the country the presence of these ships will, I believe, be very necessary.

No. 71.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20, 7 P.M.)*

(No. 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 20, 1881, 2 P.M.*

INTELLIGENCE has just arrived from Tabarca of the arrival there on the 18th of a French iron-clad and three other ships. The naval Commander informed officer in command of principal fort that he had instructions to take the two forts, and recommended him for his own personal safety to remain on board ship. The Tunisian declined this invitation, as he said he had no authority to quit his post. M. Roustan informs the Bey at the same time of the intended disembarkation of French troops, and recommends His Highness to immediately withdraw the garrison he has there, in order to prevent the possibility of any collision between them and the French. His Highness declines to withdraw his troops until the invasion of his territory takes place, when they will retire under protest.

A Mussulman insurrection is apprehended, and there is consequently much agitation and alarm in the country.



Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 160 A. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 20, 1881.

THE Italian Ambassador has been good enough to communicate to me, confidentially, some instructions which have been sent to the Italian Consul-General in Tunis, as to the attitude to be maintained with reference to the French operations on Tunisian territory.

In these instructions the necessity is pointed out of endeavouring to preserve the *status quo* in Tunis, as well as the safety of the Italian colony in the Regency, whilst to secure these objects the importance of united action with England is strongly urged.

Reference is also made to the advice given by Her Majesty's Government to the Bey to co-operate with the French troops for the chastisement of the Kroumirs, a course which the Bey had, however, declined to take; and the instructions proceed to point out the possible ultimate necessity of sending ships of war to Goletta for the protection of Italian subjects, with which object the necessary preparations had been made, whilst in order to avoid any misunderstanding with France as to the intentions of such a measure, or any encouragement to her to send a superior force, it was considered most advisable to follow the course that might be taken by Her Majesty's Government. General Menabrea explained, in communicating these instructions, that seeing the evident danger to which Europeans in Tunis would be exposed in the present crisis, his Government had already made arrangements for some iron-clads proceeding to Tunis immediately the necessity should be recognized, and the Italian Consul-General was in the meantime to do his utmost to prevent the Bey taking any step to complicate matters, or to encourage the French to extend their operations beyond what was necessary for the punishment of the Kroumirs; and his Excellency adverted to the importance already referred to in the instructions to the Consul, of simultaneous and identic action with Her Majesty's Government, and specifically in the matter of the eventual despatch of war vessels to the coast of Tunis should it become necessary.

In acknowledging General Menabrea's communication, I have expressed my regret at the Bey's refusal to co-operate with the French, since it gives them a plausible excuse for taking the law into their own hands; and I have intimated my concurrence in the view that the endeavours of both countries should be directed to inducing the Bey to act with as much prudence as possible; with which object in view, similar advice from the British and Italian Governments could not fail to have some effect.

I informed General Menabrea that a British man-of-war was ready at Malta to start for Tunis at the shortest notice; but I observed that it was certain that the French would send vessels whenever the Italian and British Governments, or either of them, did so, but that this step must, nevertheless, be taken as a matter of course whenever there was real occasion for it, on account of danger to the lives and property of our respective subjects.

I observed, however, that it did not appear, from any facts of which Her Majesty's Government were in possession, that such was the case at the present moment, although, from the beginning, Mr. Reade had asked for naval protection; and Her Majesty's Government understood that a petition from English residents is about to be forwarded to the same effect.

It was the experience of Her Majesty's Government, however, as it was probably that of Italy, that demands for naval protection rather anticipate than lag after the necessity of the case.

I engaged to inform General Menabrea whenever Her Majesty's Government take any decision on the subject, trusting to hear from his Excellency in a similar case.

I at the same time suggested to General Menabrea that it might be well for the Italian Government to give the French Government some intimation of the possibility of a contingency arising which might render it necessary to send vessels to protect Italian subjects from the risk of Mahomedan fanaticism, rather than to wait for the moment when the ships may have to be sent.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 367.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 19, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship an extract from the "Temps" newspaper, containing the following documents relative to the affairs of Tunis:—

1. Despatch from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the French Chargé d'Affaires at Tunis, April 6, 1881.
2. Letter from French Chargé d'Affaires to the Bey, April 7, 1881.
3. Letter from the Bey to the French Chargé d'Affaires, April 9, 1881.
4. Letter from the Bey to the Representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia.
5. Circular letter from the Bey to the Consuls of other Powers.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 72\*.

Extract from "Le Temps" of April 17, 1881.

NOUS recevons, en outre, la lettre suivante de notre correspondant spécial de Tunis:—

"Tunis, le 12 Avril, 1881.

"Je vous envoie la série des documents diplomatiques où se trouvent retracées chronologiquement les phases qu'a traversées jusqu'à ce jour le débat ouvert entre la République Française et la Régence de Tunis:—

"(No. 1.)

"Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères au Chargé d'Affaires de la République Française à Tunis.

"Paris, le 6 Avril, 1881.

"J'ai reçu vos deux télégrammes concernant les explications que le Bey désire.

"Veuillez déclarer à Son Altesse que nous faisons fonds sur l'amitié fidèle dont elle nous a si souvent donné l'assurance et dont nous avons aujourd'hui à réclamer des marques effectives. Un péril sérieux menace l'intégrité de notre territoire et la sécurité des populations qui y vivent sous la protection de nos lois. Ce péril vient des tribus insoumises qui occupent une partie des Etats du Bey et contre lesquelles un devoir impérieux de défense légitime nous oblige d'opérer avec vigueur. Nous ne pouvons malheureusement pas compter sur l'autorité du Bey pour réduire ces tribus avec l'énergie et la promptitude qui sont indispensables à un état de soumission qui les rende désormais inoffensives. Mais nous avons le droit de compter sur les forces militaires du Bey pour nous prêter main-forte dans l'œuvre de la répression nécessaire.

"Nos Généraux reçoivent, en conséquence, l'ordre de s'entendre amicalement avec les Commandants des troupes Tunisiennes, et de les avertir au moment où les besoins des mouvements stratégiques les amèneront à emprunter pour leurs opérations le territoire Tunisien soit près de La Calle, soit dans la Vallée de la Medjerdah. C'est en alliés et en auxiliaires du pouvoir souverain du Bey que les soldats Français poursuivront leur marche; c'est aussi en alliés et en auxiliaires que nous espérons rencontrer les soldats Tunisiens avec le renfort desquels nous voulons châtier définitivement les auteurs de tant de méfaits, ennemis communs de l'autorité du Bey et de la nôtre."

"(No. 2.)

"Lettre de M. Roustan au Bey.

"Tunis, le 7 Avril, 1881.

"Monseigneur,  
"A la suite des communications que j'ai reçues ces jours-ci du Gouvernement de votre Altesse au sujet des préparatifs militaires qui ont lieu actuellement en France et en Algérie, en vue de réprimer les attaques des tribus de la frontière, j'ai fait connaître à mon Gouvernement les observations que votre Altesse m'avait adressées à cet égard.

[725]

M\*



"Je reçois à l'instant la réponse de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à ces communications, et je m'empresse d'en transmettre ci-joint le texte à votre Altesse.\*

"J'ai, &c.  
(Signé) "TH. ROUSTAN."

"(No. 3.)

"Lettre de Son Altesse le Bey à M. Roustan, Chargé d'Affaires et Consul de France à Tunis.

"Nous avons reçu votre lettre de 7 Avril, 1881, par laquelle vous nous annoncez que le Gouvernement de la République a décidé d'infliger un châtement à quelques-unes des tribus Tunisiennes.

"Nous avons été surpris d'une pareille décision prise par un Gouvernement ami avec lequel nous nous sommes toujours efforcés de maintenir les meilleurs rapports et de conserver son amitié, et qui, en retour, nous traite avec des procédés de cette nature qui nous font beaucoup de peine.

"Dans l'affaire qui nous préoccupe, nous n'avons vu, jusqu'à présent, que des petits faits qui sont habituels aux tribus limitrophes et souvent appartenant à un même Etat.

"Aussitôt que nous avons appris l'existence de quelques troubles du côté de nos frontières, nous nous sommes empressés d'envoyer sur les lieux un kiahia délégué par nous accompagné d'une compagnie de cavaliers.

"Par les rapports que ce délégué nous a adressés, nous avons eu la certitude que la tranquillité existe dans cette région et que ces tribus sont plutôt inquiètes pour leur propre sûreté, par suite des mouvements militaires qu'elles aperçoivent sur le territoire Français et dont elles se croient être l'objectif.

"Quoi qu'il en soit, les troupes que nous venons d'envoyer actuellement, et qui seront bientôt suivies par d'autres, sont plus que suffisantes pour maintenir l'ordre et la tranquillité d'une manière définitive. Dans le cas où il sera établi que quelques-unes de nos tribus auraient commis des méfaits, notre autorité a le pouvoir de s'emparer des coupables et de les punir selon leur crime.

"Ces mesures prises par nous doivent démontrer à votre Gouvernement les efforts que nous ne cessons d'employer dans cette affaire dans le but de rassurer le Gouvernement de la République sur ce qui pourrait troubler la tranquillité en Algérie.

"Nous nourrissons l'espoir que le Gouvernement Français ne mettra plus à exécution ce qu'il s'était proposé. S'il persiste, malgré nos assurances, dans cette décision, nous tenons à l'aviser aujourd'hui qu'une semblable détermination jetterait la déconsidération sur nous parmi nos propres populations et dans les pays étrangers; elle pourrait faire naître d'autres complications et des dangers qu'on ne pourrait prévoir en ce moment. En outre, l'entrée des troupes Françaises sur le territoire Tunisien constituerait une violation de nos droits souverains, et porterait un préjudice aux intérêts que les Gouvernements étrangers ont dans notre pays, et qui sont placés sous notre sauvegarde; elle constituerait surtout une violation des droits de la Sublime Porte.

"Par tout ce qui précède, nous vous déclarons que nous ne pouvons accepter ni accorder, d'une manière quelconque, l'exécution de la mesure projetée par votre Gouvernement et qui consiste à faire entrer les troupes Françaises sur notre territoire.

"Dans le cas où cette exécution s'effectuerait contre notre volonté, nous rendons le Gouvernement de la République Française responsable de toutes les conséquences qui pourraient en résulter.

"Ecrit le 8 Joumada-el-Oula, 1298 (9 Avril, 1881.)"

"(No. 4.)

"Lettre de Son Altesse le Bey à MM. les Représentants d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, Grande Bretagne, Italie, et Russie.

"Il nous avait été soumis dans ces derniers temps que des conflits avaient eu lieu entre les tribus Tunisiennes et des tribus Algériennes leurs voisines, du côté de la Regba, dans lesquels des actes de vol et d'autres crimes ont été commis de part et d'autre. Nous avons envoyé immédiatement des Délégués de notre part sur les lieux, avec mission d'avoir des conférences avec des Délégués Français pour régler ces affaires d'après le mode de

\* C'est la dépêche qui précède.

réglement en usage entre nous dans ces sortes d'affaires. L'entente n'a pas pu avoir lieu, et, en dernier lieu, le Délégué Algérien s'est abstenu deux fois de se rendre à la conférence au jour indiqué, sous le prétexte qu'il était indisposé, et enfin qu'il n'avait pas d'instructions.

"Pendant ces temps, d'autres faits isolés de la même nature ont eu lieu entre des individus de la tribu Tunisienne des Kroumirs et quelques individus des tribus Algériennes, faits qui sont habituels aux tribus qui sont voisines entre elles, quand même elles appartiendraient à un même Etat. Aussitôt que cette autre nouvelle nous est parvenue, nous avons immédiatement envoyé un kiahia (officier), avec un parti de cavaliers pour s'enquérir des faits, rétablir l'ordre, et empêcher nos tribus de se livrer à des voies de fait contre leurs voisins, même dans le cas où ceux-ci auraient commencé l'agression.

"Notre Délégué nous a assuré que nos tribus se sont rendues à notre invitation, et que l'ordre n'a plus été troublé.

"Ne voulant pas nous arrêter à cette seule mesure, nous avons envoyé notre Ministre de la Guerre à la tête d'une colonne expéditionnaire composée de troupes régulières et de cavaliers; nous avons également décidé d'envoyer notre frère Sidi Ali Bey avec une autre colonne qui se mobilise en ce moment dans le but d'assurer définitivement la tranquillité dans cette région, et de régler les réclamations respectives.

"Sur ces entrefaites, nous recevons la lettre dont vous trouverez ci-inclus copie, par laquelle M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France nous annonce que le Gouvernement de la République a décidé de faire châtier quelques tribus Tunisiennes. Par la réponse que nous lui avons faite et dont vous trouverez également une copie ci-incluse, nous avons fait savoir à M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France que nous avions déjà pris les mesures nécessaires à l'égard de nos tribus; nous avons en même temps protesté contre l'entrée éventuelle des troupes Françaises sur notre territoire, lequel fait est considéré par nous comme une violation de nos droits et de ceux de l'Empire Ottoman, dont la Régence fait partie intégrante. Nous avons également fait à la Sublime Porte un rapport détaillé de tout ce qui s'est passé pour couvrir notre responsabilité vis-à-vis d'elle.

"Les intérêts des étrangers, des sujets des Puissances Européennes à Tunis étant liés avec ceux de la Régence, nous avons cru devoir nous adresser à vous ainsi qu'à vos collègues, Représentants des Grandes Puissances, avec prière d'informer votre Gouvernement et leurs Gouvernements respectifs de la situation.

"Nous nous adressons à leurs sentiments bien connus de justice et d'équité pour qu'ils nous prêtent leur concours dans le but de sauvegarder nos droits et ceux de l'Empire Ottoman. Nous les prions également de faire cesser les actes et les menaces qui auraient pour effet des dangers dont nous déclinons toute responsabilité.

"Tunis, le 9 Joumada-el-Oula, 1298 (8 Avril, 1881)."

"(No. 5.)

"Lettre-Circulaire de Son Altesse le Bey aux Consuls des Puissances non représentées au Congrès de Berlin.

"L'honorable Représentant de la France nous avait porté plainte contre les Kroumirs appartenant à nos tribus, et nous avons pris des mesures en conséquence.

"Une correspondance ayant été échangée entre ce Représentant et notre Gouvernement, nous avons cru devoir vous remettre ci-inclus copie de ces notes.

"Or, comme l'entrée sur notre territoire constitue une atteinte à nos droits et à celui de la Sublime Porte, nous avons répondu à M. Roustan et écrit aux Représentants des Cinq Grandes Puissances les lettres dont vous trouverez également copie ci-joint.

"Nous portons cela à votre connaissance pour votre information et celle de votre Gouvernement pour être au courant de la situation.

"Tunis, le 10 Joumada-el-Oula, 1298 (9 Avril, 1881)."



## No. 73.

*Consul-General Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received April 21.)*

(No. 4.)

My Lord,

*Algiers, April 16, 1881.*

IN continuation of my letter No. 3 of the 14th instant, I have the honour to report that no intelligence from the frontier has yet reached Algiers.

General Osmont, commanding the 19th Corps d'Armée, has frequently during the past two days, either personally, or through an Aide-de-camp, asked me to furnish information regarding the obstacles which a force might be expected to encounter between three points: Tabarca, El-Aioun, and El-Badja.

This leads me to believe that a portion of the expeditionary force at least will adopt the very route which I followed and which is described in my work "Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce."

I have thought that I could not possibly do wrong in supplying General Osmont with information which has been before the public for three years. I have therefore not only lent him the work in question, but I have had translated the most important extracts into French.

To-day I warned his Aide-de-camp that the most attractive place in the whole district for the encampment of a force was the wide valley in front of the Island of Tabarca. I said that though close to a landing-place, with abundance of water and rich pasturage, its climate was the most deadly in North Africa, and that any force camping there would certainly be decimated. He replied, almost inadvertently, "En effet, c'est ce que nous avons trouvé."

This would almost tempt me to believe that a landing has actually been made at Tabarca, though I have heard nothing to confirm my suspicion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

## No. 74.

*General Menabrea to Sir J. Pauncefoot.—(Received April 21.)*

(Personnelle.)

Cher Sir Julian,

*Londres, le 21 Avril, 1881.*

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre le télégramme ci-joint relatif à Tunis que j'ai reçu hier soir.

Veillez le communiquer à Lord Granville, en le priant de me faire savoir si, vu les circonstances, l'Angleterre est, de même que l'Italie, disposée à envoyer à la Goulette un aviso pour faire le service des dépêches entre le port et Marsala, qui est la station télégraphique la plus proche du continent africain, dans le cas probable où le télégraphe entre Tunis et Alger serait interrompu par suite des opérations militaires de la France.

Veillez, &c.

(Signé) L. F. MENABREA.

*Inclosure in No. 74.*

*M. Cairoli to General Menabrea.*

(Télégraphique.)

*Rome, le 20 Avril, 1881.*

NOTRE Consul-Général à Tunis, M. Maccio, me télégraphie que, demain probablement les Français franchiront la frontière. On croit que de graves désordres n'éclatent à cette occasion. Comme la ligne télégraphique par Alger sera, sans doute, interrompue, il est indispensable qu'un des avisos de station à la Goulette parte, le cas échéant, à Marsala, qui est le point le plus rapproché du réseau télégraphique Européen, les dépêches urgentes. Ne voulant rien faire qui puisse prêter à des commentaires fâcheux, je prie votre Excellence d'entretenir, sans retard, Lord Granville de ce sujet important, de l'informer qu'un aviso Italien sera expédié à Tunis, et de lui demander si l'Angleterre est disposée à en faire autant.

## No. 75.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*(No. 167A. Confidential.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, April 22, 1881.*

THE Italian Ambassador has been good enough to communicate to me a telegram dated yesterday, received from the Italian Consul-General in Tunis.

The telegram reports that the Arab population were in a state of the utmost excitement in consequence of the threatened occupation of Tunis by the French, and the Consul expresses his conviction that if it takes place a conflict is inevitable. Arms and munitions of all kinds were being bought up, in this expectation, at exorbitant prices, and the Consul anticipated that the moment must come when the precautions taken by the Bey and his Ministers would be powerless to prevent an explosion.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 76.

*Sir J. Pauncefote to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*(Confidential.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, April 22, 1881.*

AS the course of events in Tunis may lead to such a state of affairs as to place the lives and property of British subjects in that Regency in danger, I am directed by Earl Granville to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that he is of opinion that a ship-of-war should be held in readiness at Malta to be dispatched to the Tunisian coast whenever Her Majesty's Government may determine that it is desirable that one of the Queen's ships should proceed thither, of which determination Earl Granville will give due intimation to the Board of Admiralty.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

## No. 77.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 23.)*

(No. 374. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 22, 1881.*

THE French press, not to say the French Government, seems to be bent upon accumulating grievances or, so to speak, upon getting up a strong case against the Bey of Tunis.

The cry in the newspapers for the total unconditional annexation of the Regency to Algeria does not diminish in strength, while hardly any paper seems to acquiesce in less than the establishment of an exclusive French Protectorate.

I understand that there is nothing in the movements of troops which have actually taken place which betrays the design of extending the military operations beyond points advantageous for action against the frontier tribes, but the plans of campaigns, published on more or less authority, appear to contemplate the advance to positions adapted for menacing the capital itself, or for overawing the population generally.

My own impression is that at this moment the intention of the French Government is to inflict signal chastisement on the frontier tribes, and to exact from the Bey the signature of a Treaty which, with or without the introduction of the word Protectorate, shall place France in an exceptional and predominating position in the Regency.

Your Lordship may remember that so long ago as the beginning of February last Mr. Reade reported on the authority of the Bey himself that M. Roustan, the French Chargé d'Affaires, had proposed to His Highness to accept a French Protectorate, in order to secure himself against designs upon his independence stated to be entertained by the Porte.

It was in connection with these supposed designs that, according to the second version of the matter given by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, the "Friedland" was really sent to Tunis.

A report has now been put about that the Porte contemplates deposing the present Bey, and setting up Khairaddin Pasha in his place.

The French Government will certainly not be a party to any such arrangement, for it has always most strenuously resisted any admission that Tunis is in any way dependent upon the Sultan.

There may, however, be again an attempt to work upon the fears of the Bey by representing to him that he is in danger from Constantinople.

Warned, perhaps, by the result of the despatch of the "Friedland," the French now appear resolved that it shall be by land, and not by sea, that material pressure shall be put upon the Bey by the exhibition of French force.

It is avowed (at least in the newspapers) that French ships of war are not sent to Tunis because they would probably attract the ships of war of other Powers to the spot, while on land France and Tunis are *tête-à-tête*.

If the resistance of the Bey to French demands is continued until the French troops approach the city of Tunis itself, it will be difficult to foresee the moment at which they will be withdrawn.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## No. 78.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.—(Received at the Foreign Office, April 23.)*

(No. 31.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 22, 1881.*

SINCE I last had the honour of addressing your Excellency on the subject of the Tunis expedition further details of the preparations for the invasion of the territory of the Bey have appeared in the newspapers, but I am still without information from the Ministry of War. I inclose a copy of "L'Armée Française" of the 20th instant, which gives full details, somewhat different from those previously forwarded by me, of the composition of the expeditionary force and of the forces remaining available in Algeria. According to these Returns the expeditionary force consists of 17,000 rifles, 1,900 sabres, and 56 guns; and there remain available in Algeria 25,000 rifles, 8,000 sabres, and 54 guns.

The dispositions for the invasion appear to be nearly completed. The right column, about 6,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 24 guns, under General Logerot, is stationed between Souk-Ahras and the frontier, opposite to and south of the commencement of the Ghardimaou-Tunis Railway; its right flank protected by the Goums, or irregular Arab cavalry. The left column, 10,000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and 24 guns, under General Delébeque, is echeloned along the frontier from La Calle southwards towards Souk-Ahras, connected with the right column by Gaume's cavalry brigade, 1,200 sabres and 6 guns. A "corps de débarquement" under Colonel Delpech, consisting of 3 battalions of infantry, 2 guns, and a section of engineers was to land yesterday at Tabarca, to which place it was conveyed in the iron-clad "Surveillante," the two gun-boats "Chacal" and "Hyène," and the transport "Corrèze."

Cavalry reconnaissances have been pushed for several miles across the frontier without encountering any resistance. But a convoy of provisions on the way from La Calle to El-Aiou, in French territory, is reported to have been attacked, and some resistance is reported to have been made near the frontier on two occasions to the requisitions which are reported to have been made for 5,000 men and 1,200 horses for transport purposes in the Province of Constantine alone. These are apparently only isolated acts of Algerian Chiefs desirous of asserting their independence.

The gun-boat "Hyène," while taking soundings, was fired upon from the Tunisian fort on the mainland opposite the Island of Tabarca a few days ago; and it is pretended that the decision to land at Tabarca is the consequence of this "act of aggression." It has, however, been no secret for some time past that a force was to land there, as the roadstead and small port of Tabarca will be required to facilitate the supply of a force advancing along the coast from La Calle. I inclose a copy of "L'Armée Française" of to-day, giving a sketch of the island and the anchorage.

The number of men whom the Kroumirs can put into the field is estimated at about 20,000. They are very badly armed, and ill-supplied with ammunition. The story of their being supplied with breech-loaders similar to those in use in the Italian army is doubtless one of the many fictitious rumours started to create an ill-feeling against Italy. They are entirely without artillery.

The troops which the Bey can put into the field do not probably exceed 5,000. They have never been able to hold their own against the Kroumirs; and it is doubtless



true that a large part of the guns and ammunition of the Kroumirs has been captured from the Bey's troops at various times.

Up to the present date the dispositions that have been made are not actually inconsistent with the assertion that the campaign will be confined to the chastisement of the Kroumirs. But the press of yesterday and to-day sketches, with remarkable unanimity, a plan of campaign which decidedly goes beyond this. It is agreed that the right column is to operate in the basin of the Oued-Mellègue against Kef. In the inclosed article from the "Temps" of yesterday, the only reason given for this operation is that Kef is "une ville sainte." To-day's "Journal des Débats" explains this by saying that Kef is a religious centre ("qui rayonne sur toute la Tunisie"), and that from it "sont partis les marabouts qui prêchent actuellement dans les tribus la guerre sainte contre les Français." I need scarcely say that, though the detaching a column to watch Kef might be justified as a necessary precaution for any force operating in the Valley of the Medjerda, any attack against Kef, or indeed any operations south of the Tunis-Ghardamaou Railway, can have nothing to do with the chastisement of the Kroumirs.

The "Journal des Débats," speaking of the importance of an advance by the Valley of the Medjerda, mentions as the objective point of a force marching by that line, "Béja, d'où l'on peut à volonté soit prendre à revers le massif des montagnes occupé par les Kroumirs, soit, au besoin, menacer Tunis ou Bizerte." And the "Liberté" of yesterday, in an article which I inclose, points out the difficulties and losses of men and of money which will be caused by a war in the mountains and forests of the Kroumirs, the length of time it may last, the complications it may give rise to, and urges the simple and more complete course of going to Tunis, and settling matters with the Bey in person.

I find it difficult to believe that with such elements for a quarrel as now exist between the French Republic and the Bey, with the Bey's troops armed and on the frontier, with 20,000 French troops in the field, under Generals, all doubtless desirous of something more than an arduous campaign in a barren country against a horde of savages, the circle of hostilities will be confined to the Kroumir country. If the Bey becomes openly hostile to France (and the pretext for declaring him hostile can easily be found), an advance on the City of Tunis becomes, to my mind as a soldier, a military necessity of the situation. Will it then be confined to an advance by the long route from the frontier, or will an expeditionary force be sent to Tunis or Bizerte? In former despatches I have pointed out that the means exist at Toulon, and at Bône, for the rapid formation of such a force; and the following significant sentence appears in the "Avenir Militaire" of to-day:—

"Il se confirme que des ordres sont partis du Ministère de la Guerre pour la formation immédiate, à Nîmes, d'un corps de débarquement dont l'entrée à Tunis par La Goulette ou Bizerte coïncidera avec l'arrivée du corps expéditionnaire près de la frontière Algérienne."

I have not seen this statement confirmed elsewhere; and I have seen it argued that the French will not send any expedition by sea to either Tunis or Bizerte, as other Powers would then send ships also, and European complications might be produced, whereas, by operating only from their frontier they keep the matter entirely between France and the Bey. To this argument I attach small importance, as, if a force marches by land on Tunis, French ships will certainly go either to that port or Bizerte, to re-embark the troops if they leave the country, or to provision them if they remain there. It cannot be supposed that a French force at Tunis would continue to have its base and source of supply at a small port on the seaboard of Algeria, and its line of communications extended through the whole Regency of Tunis and the Province of Constantine to Bône, or that it would return to France by that circuitous route. It appears to me, therefore, that if the French make war upon the Bey they will send a force by sea to Tunis or Bizerte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

#### No. 79.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received April 23.)*

(Confidential.)

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a despatch dated the 15th instant, which has been received from Mr. E. W. Mark, Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles,

*Admiralty, April 23, 1881.*

respecting naval and military preparations at Toulon for the expedition against the Tunisian Arabs.

It is to be observed that the "Alma" and the "Lagalissonière" iron-clads would in any case have come to the Mediterranean to relieve the "Jeanne d'Arc" and the "Provence," ships of the Levantine squadron.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

#### Inclosure in No. 79.

*Consul Mark to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)

Sir,

*Marseilles, April 15, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Mediterranean fleet is lying at Toulon, ready for sea at a moment's notice. The "Tourville," fast cruiser, is at present on the coast of Algeria, as also the gun-boats "Chacal" and "Léopard." The "Surveillante" iron-clad left yesterday for Bône, accompanied by three transports with troops and large quantities of provisions and military stores. The iron-clads "Lagalissonière" and "Alma" are expected to reach Toulon from Cherbourg.

Eleven large transports have been got ready for sea, several of which have already left Toulon with troops and stores. The transports are the "Corrèze," "Algésiras," "Intrépide," "Dryade," "Sarthe," "Vienne," "Tarbes," ("Taru"), "Guerrière," "Cérès," "Charlemagne," and "Entreprenante."

At the same time the military authorities have taken up a dozen of the large packet-ships belonging to this port, two or three of them a-day leaving Marseilles with troops, artillery, ammunition, and stores of all sorts.

The troops have reached Marseilles and Toulon from all parts of France, and it is said that the expedition will muster 20,000 men. The preparations going on, however, seem to justify the belief that a larger force will be dispatched from France.

Several thousand troops have been sent across to Oran, to fill up the stations in the west of Algeria, whence troops have recently been drafted to the frontier of Tunisia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. W. MARK.

#### No. 80.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Pauncefoot.—(Received April 23.)*

(Confidential.)

Sir,

*Admiralty, April 23, 1881.*

I HAVE laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 22nd instant, requesting that a ship may be held in readiness to proceed to the coast of Tunis, if required to protect British subjects.

2. My Lords desire me to request that you will state to Earl Granville, in reply, that telegraphic orders have been sent for an iron-clad and small vessel to be held in readiness for this service in case of need.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

#### No. 81.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 390.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, April 23, 1881.*

I HAVE received, and laid before the Queen, your Excellency's despatches Nos. 313 and 331 of the 6th and 11th instant, reporting your conversations with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs upon the subject of the question which has arisen between France and Tunis. Her Majesty's Government have learned with pleasure the manner in which M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire received the communication which you were instructed to make to him upon this matter. They had never doubted that his Excellency would recognize at

once, and, as a matter of course, the duty incumbent upon them of taking measures in case of need for the protection of British life and property, and it is satisfactory to find that their expectation has been fulfilled.

I scarcely understand the meaning of M. St. Hilaire's intimation that the French Government might decide to take similar steps, as I was under the belief that there was already a French ship of war at Tunis. It is possible that your Excellency may be able to explain the meaning of the remark.

With reference to the declaration made by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to the Turkish Ambassador, in regard to the relations between the Porte and Tunis, as reported by M. Challemel-Lacour, and communicated to your Excellency in my preceding despatch No. 390A of this day's date, it will be right that your Excellency should take an opportunity of reminding the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that this country has always maintained the doctrine that the Regency of Tunis is under the suzerainty of the Porte, and forms a part of the Ottoman Empire.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 82.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 390A.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, April 23, 1881.*

THE French Ambassador called at this Office a few days since to make the following communication:—

That the Turkish Ambassador at Paris had called on M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to speak to his Excellency on the subject of Tunis. That M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire had declined any official conversation on the subject, but had declared unofficially to him that whatever might be the "liens religieux" between the Porte and the Regency, France never had, in modern times, recognized, and never would recognize, any political rights of the Porte over Tunis, which they do not consider to constitute part of the Ottoman dominions.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 83.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 168A. Confidential.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 23, 1881.*

IN continuation of his preceding communication reported in my despatch No. 167A of yesterday's date, General Menabrea has informed me privately that the reports received by his Excellency from Tunis were still more alarming, and that the Europeans in the Regency were loudly calling for the protection of their respective Governments.

General Menabrea represented that as the French had crossed the frontier, the moment appeared to have arrived for sending some ships of war to Goletta, not as a menace to France, but merely to reassure the subjects of England and France respectively against the dangers of Mussulman fanaticism.

The Italian Ambassador repeated the assurance that his Government were desirous of acting in conformity with the proceedings of Great Britain in this matter, the two countries having in view but one and the same object, namely, the protection of their respective subjects.

General Menabrea expressed his desire to ascertain as early as possible what course Her Majesty's Government would take in this emergency, in order that the Italian Government might regulate their own proceedings accordingly.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 84.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 24.)*

(No. 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 23, 1881.*

M. ROUSTAN requested this morning the Bey's permission to land an armed force and two guns from the French ship of war at the Goletta, for the alleged purpose of protecting the European colony in this city.

The Bey declined to grant the request, and renewed his protest against any violation of his territory. The proposal was most unnecessary, and would, if carried out, cause enormous agitation, and probably a rising of the Mussulman natives.

The Bey's exertions to master the Hamirs are being crowned with complete success, and unless the Tunisian territory is invaded no disturbance is apprehended in the Regency.

Your Lordship's telegram No. 17 just received. No. 33 is a mistake for No. 23. I have inquired about No. 22, but can get no satisfactory explanation. It will be found in my despatch No. 41 of the 15th.

Cases of delay, mutilations, and suppression of telegrams are subject of common complaint, and a telegram from the "Standard" correspondent sent on the same day as my telegram No. 22 it is believed was suppressed. One from editor of "Daily News" dated 12th instant reached me on the 15th.

Means of direct communication with Sicily or Malta is, I think, indispensable. Telegram from the Sultan repeats approval of the Bey, and informs him that he is negotiating with the Great Powers to protect his own and the Bey's rights.

No. 85.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received April 25.)*

(No. 296.)

My Lord,

*Constantinople, April 19, 1881.*

I HAD a long conversation with M. Tissot a few days ago about Tunis, or rather, I should say, M. Tissot stated his views on the subject to me at considerable length and with much vivacity, while I did not consider it advisable to offer any comments on what he said. The conversation was quite unofficial, and I do not know whether his Excellency stated anything to me which is not already known to your Lordship, but I nevertheless think it right to communicate the substance of what passed. I should add that M. Tissot was the Representative of France in Tunis for some years, and has evidently studied the question historically as well as diplomatically with some enthusiasm. His Excellency gave me a brief historical sketch of the relations of Tunis to France and Spain on the one hand, and to the Turks on the other, enumerating the various families who had governed Tunis, and the dates of the chief occurrences, with a precision of statement and a rapidity of description which showed me to what an extent he had studied every detail.

His main argument went to show that no sovereign rights on the part of Turkey over Tunis had ever been acknowledged; the very bombardments of Tunis by foreign Powers being a tribute to her independence. She had been attacked without reference to any hostilities with Turkey, and without remonstrance on her part. All foreign Powers had treated Tunis as a separate State to be punished, without interference on the part of the Ottoman Empire, when offences had been committed, and only in very late years had pretensions been put forward in an opposite direction.

M. Tissot referred to action repeatedly taken during the July monarchy. Whenever the Turkish fleet had approached Tunis, a French fleet had sailed from Toulon, and had conducted the Turkish fleet back to the very mouth of the Dardanelles. Turkey had always been warned off Tunis by France. His Excellency wound up his sketch up to the year 1865 by declaring that the French recognized nothing but a spiritual tie between Tunis and Turkey, but that as for sovereign rights, the Kings of Piedmont had retained as much right to Cyprus as the Sultan to Tunis. In 1865 Kheredine Pasha had come from Tunis to Constantinople, and intrigues commenced, by which Turkey was to be offered a better position as regards Tunis in exchange for the promise of protection to the latter, while Kheredine Pasha was supposed to be secretly aiming at being made Governor of Tunis himself. His mission did not succeed. The attempt was repeated in 1871, and this time with apparent success. The Firman on which the Porte now claimed sovereign rights was issued, but to France it represented so much waste paper. France had been too much occupied at the time to take any decided measures, but she had protested



verbally, and had declined to recognize the Firman. His Excellency explained to me how in these proceedings several currents had been at work, the one the desire of the Porte to extend its sovereignty; another, the wish of the Bey to strengthen his position against foreign Powers, but, as strong as either, the personal ambition of Kheredine, who wished not only to supplant the Bey, his master, but to be made Khedive of an Arab Empire which would include Tunis, but be much wider in extent.

M. Tissot then spoke with much warmth as to the interest taken by France in Tunis. The French "could not suffer" the preponderating influence of any Power, Turkish or European, in Tunis. They were as sensitive in this respect as England in respect of the road to India. The easiest gate to Algeria in case of a European war was through Tunis, and, at any hazard, France was determined that that gate should not be in the hands of a doubtful Power. His Excellency then reminded me of a conversation which he had had with Abédine Pasha last summer, and of which he had told me the substance at the time. He had heard that certain Ottoman influences were at work stirring up hatred to the French on the borders of Tunis, just as they were alleged to be stirring up hatred against the English amongst the Indian pilgrims at Mecca. The consequences were now apparent. He traced to those intrigues the murder of the party of Colonel Flatters, and the attacks of the tribes on the frontier. Their account now against the Bey was full to overflowing. A settlement was indispensable. The French had been far too patient hitherto. As to any interference, they should assert their position against all comers. It was a question of life and death to Algeria.

I inquired what view Germany took of the situation. Bearing in mind that M. Tissot had, in intimate moments, always admitted to me that anxiety as to the action of Germany rendered it impossible for a French Government to commit itself to any strong proceedings in any quarter of the globe without knowing beforehand how Germany would be likely to view them; and, knowing that the theory had been held among French politicians generally that differences between Italy and France would be very welcome to Prince Bismarck, I was anxious to learn why, on this occasion, France seemed prepared to be so unusually energetic. M. Tissot told me confidentially, in reply, that Prince Bismarck had intimated to the French Ambassador at Berlin a fortnight before that he thought the French had displayed almost too great patience towards the Bey.

I am informed that the French Dragoman has held very high language at the Porte much in the same sense as the words used by M. Tissot to me, to the effect that the French recognized no political rights whatever on the part of Turkey over Tunis, and that they would not brook any interference in any steps they might take.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

No. 86.

Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received April 25.)

(No. 299.)  
My Lord,

Constantinople, April 19, 1881.

ON receiving your Lordship's telegram No. 259 of the 11th instant, directing the answer which I might give to His Majesty the Sultan with reference to the present difficulty in Tunis with regard to which he had consulted me, I caused His Majesty to be informed that I was now in a position to answer the question which he had put me as to the view taken by Her Majesty's Government. His Majesty invited me to proceed to the Palace the next day.

His Highness Said Pasha, the Prime Minister, was present at the audience.

I found His Majesty very anxious indeed with regard to this affair. According to your Lordship's instructions, I stated that the English Government appreciated the desire of His Majesty to know their opinion; that they desired that the *status quo* should be maintained in Tunis; that the British Representative in Tunis had been instructed, if applied to, to advise the Bey to join the French in the necessary measures to settle the difficulties on the frontier, and that they hoped His Majesty would give the same advice.

The Sultan was silent for some moments after I had made this communication, and looked exceedingly grave. He then went over my answer in different words. He observed that the English Government, he had understood me to mean, were anxious for and interested in the *status quo* being maintained in Tunis, and that we advised him to give orders to the "Sadyk Pasha" to join the French. I pointed out to His Majesty that I had not stated that England was "interested" in maintaining the *status quo*, but only desirous that it should be maintained. We should deeply regret that any new Eastern

difficulty should be raised, but I had no instructions to the effect that we considered English interests to be especially involved in the affairs of Tunis in any way.

It was also necessary for me to point out, in order to avoid misconception, that Her Majesty's Government had not expressed a wish that His Majesty should give "orders" to the Bey to join the French, but that he should "advise" the Bey to that effect, a remark which I found was not agreeable to His Majesty, but which it was impossible to avoid making, as the point as to his title to give orders to the Bey is one which lies at the root of the whole of the difference of the Turks with the French on this subject, and it would have compromised Her Majesty's Government if His Majesty had been able to state that he had been advised by the English Government to give orders to the Bey.

I should observe that His Majesty and the Prime Minister never spoke of the Bey of Tunis as the Bey, but either as the Governor-General or as "the Pasha."

In the course of the conversation the Sultan gave me distinctly to understand that he regarded Tunis as a portion of his Empire and the Tunisians as his subjects. He said that he should cause proofs of this to be given me by his Ministers.

His Majesty was reticent in the first instance as to what course he should take, and said he should cause an answer to what I had said to be communicated to me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to which I replied by begging His Majesty not to consider himself obliged to cause any answer to be given to me. He had applied to know our view, which I had stated, but Her Majesty's Government had no desire to interfere in any way.

His Majesty then spoke on other subjects, but the conversation reverted later on again to the Tunisian question, when His Majesty made the remark that he did not see how our wish to see the *status quo* maintained was compatible with the advice to the Bey to join the French troops. Operations on the part of French troops within the territories of Tunis were an infraction of the *status quo*. I replied that when I spoke of the *status quo* I had mainly in view the attitude of the Bey to His Majesty, and the relations between the Bey and the French, apart from any local question; that it appeared to me above all things important to treat the frontier difficulty as "locally" as possible, and to avoid any crisis resulting from it. It would be deplorable if a question should arise between Turkey and France as to the rights of sovereignty over Tunis. It was notorious what views were held by the French, and it was clearly wisest that the point should not have to be raised.

His Majesty remarked that his Government would maintain their rights, but that he had sent instructions to the Governor-General to be very energetic in punishing the offending tribes. From what the Prime Minister told me afterwards, I gathered that they will instruct (if, indeed, they had not already instructed) the Bey to co-operate with the French.

His Majesty pressed me as to any information I had received as to the shortcomings of the Bey, but I felt precluded from making any statement to His Majesty on the subject. I had not sufficient data, nor did I think it expedient to commit myself on the subject. This, as your Lordship may remember, is the second time that His Majesty has raised this point. I received the impression that he might wish to make some change. He told me that the tenure of the Governor-General depended on his compliance with the Imperial Firman.

The conversation ended by His Majesty informing me that he should consult Khérédine Pasha, who was thoroughly conversant with this affair.

After the audience, I spoke very earnestly to the Prime Minister in the sense of urging extreme prudence, and his Highness seemed perfectly alive to this necessity, and gave me every assurance to this effect. I stated that I noted how His Majesty had dwelt upon his "rights," but if, by prudent management, he could avoid asserting them in the present instance, and thus also avoid the necessity of having to abandon them before the very decided action which France would probably take, he would be sparing himself an unnecessary humiliation.

His Highness thanked me, with some appearance of cordiality, for the advice I had given.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.



*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received April 25.)*

(No. 300.)

My Lord,

*Constantinople, April 19, 1881.*

I HAVE already addressed your Lordship two despatches by this messenger on the Tunisian difficulty. But I have still to report a conversation which I had with the Prime Minister on the subject the day after the audience at which I was received by the Sultan.

I should add that the Prime Minister sent me a copy of the Firman governing the relations between the Porte and Tunis immediately after that audience.

On the following day, being with the Foreign Minister, I received a message from Saïd Pasha to the effect that he was very anxious to see me on "the subject with regard to which His Majesty had consulted me the previous day."

His Highness asked me whether I had read the Firman, and then once more went over the old ground with me, declaring the intention of the Ottoman Government to be very conciliatory. But he then opened some fresh ground by appealing to the friendship of England and stating that we could render them very great assistance. I should see from documents which he could supply me with what attitude England had taken as to the Firman. Turkey would be most grateful if we could serve her now.

In reply, I said to his Highness that what I had predicted had now come to pass. I had always told him and his colleagues that the time would come when they would remember that they wanted the friendship of England; that he now spoke of that necessity, and made promises of reciprocity, but what proof had he given of friendship for England during the past years? In what single case had our advice been taken? In what manner had they received our counsels, which were intended for the benefit of the Turkish Empire? The Turks had done their best to alienate the sympathies of public opinion in England, and it would not be easy to regain it.

His Highness replied that this would be changed now, and, without showing any signs of offence at the language I had held, and which I purposely made somewhat stern, continued an appeal to our good offices.

I then proceeded to explain that this Tunisian affair, like other Eastern questions, could not be dealt with separately by England; we had no special interest in it and our policy was to maintain, in all these matters, the concert of Europe. It could not be to the interest of any nation to see a new difficulty arising even before the old ones were disposed of, and it would be wiser to seek by every means to keep the question within the smallest proportions compatible with its importance, rather than to raise any question in which foreign Powers might take different views.

His Highness must have gathered from the general tone of my conversation that I had no instructions which would warrant the hope that the Great European Powers would range themselves on different sides as regards the relations between the Porte and Tunis, and that any special appeal to England would not be justified by the whole attitude which Turkey has taken up towards us of late years.

Your Lordship is aware that the present Prime Minister has from first to last been considered as one of those who has most resisted English influence and shown us most hostility. I trust I have not exceeded the limits of my duty in availing myself of this occasion to show the Turkish Government that they cannot at the same time neglect our counsels and count on our unaltered and special friendship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Pouncefote.—(Received April 25.)*

Sir,

*Admiralty, April 22, 1881.*

WITH reference to your letter of this day's date relative to the probable interruption of telegraphic communication by way of Algiers, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will state to Earl Granville that, in such an event, Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour has been informed that my Lords consider it desirable that one of Her Majesty's ships should be stationed at Goletta on the coast of

Tunis to convey telegraphic or other urgent communications between that port and Marsala.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 394A.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, April 25, 1881.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 331 of the 11th instant, recording your communications with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire on the subject of my despatch No. 328 of the 7th instant, referring to my conversation with M. Challemlacour respecting the French expedition to the Tunisian frontier.

I have now to state to your Excellency that I approve of your having allowed the French Minister to read my despatch referred to, and also of the language which you held to his Excellency in regard to the action of France in the expedition which has been undertaken.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 171. Confidential.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 25, 1881.*

GENERAL MENABREA has communicated to me to-day a further telegram from the Italian Consul-General at Tunis, reporting that M. Roustan had made an offer to the Bey of disembarking a company of marines, together with some guns, for the security of Europeans. This offer the Bey had declined, on the ground that he did not see the necessity for such a step; and his refusal had not been notified by M. Roustan to the Consular Body.

The telegram pointed out the danger of such a measure as was proposed, seeing that it would be an encouragement to the Arabs to commit excesses, which the force it was proposed to disembark would be entirely insufficient to repress.

The Italian Government appeared to share this view, and General Menabrea represented that the moment had arrived for taking some decision with a view to the protection of British and Italian interests.

General Menabrea referred to what I had said on a previous occasion as to the advisability in the event of England and Italy sending ships to Tunis, of the French Government being apprized beforehand that such a step might become necessary in order to allay the apprehensions of the subjects of both countries. His Excellency said that in such a case it was probable that the French would pursue a like course, and that the ships of war of three different nations would thus find themselves arrayed together in the waters of Tunis. Whilst therefore, on the one hand, it would not do to lose sight of the dangers to which Europeans communities in Tunis might be exposed; on the other hand, the complications which might arise from the meeting of the three squadrons must equally be kept in view, one of those squadrons belonging to a Power which might be said to be hostile to the Bey.

M. Cairoli, his Excellency added, desired to know the views of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, and was of opinion that if it should be determined by the two Governments to send ships of war to Tunis, the French Government should be apprized by them of such intention simultaneously. General Menabrea concluded by again expressing the desire of his Government to act with that of Her Majesty with the most perfect harmony.

I have informed the Italian Ambassador, in reply, that in consequence of the information which he had been good enough to send me and of the fears also expressed by Her Majesty's Consul-General in Tunis that the telegraph wire from Tunis might be injured, Her Majesty's Government had, like that of Italy, given orders for a dispatch-boat to go to Tunis; and I added that Lord Lyons had already intimated to the French Government the possibility of this country being obliged to send naval protection to British subjects from Mahomedan fanaticism.

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I stated to his Excellency that a short time ago Mr. Reade had expressed apprehensions as to the safety of foreigners at Tunis, but that his last telegram was reassuring.

I observed that the meeting of Italian, English and French ships of war would create great excitement, and might lead to serious complications; and that it appeared to Her Majesty's Government that it would be better to avoid this, if the necessity for such a measure did not become urgent.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 91.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)*

(No. 41.)  
My Lord,

ON the 13th instant I had the honour to telegraph to your Lordship a communication to the following effect:—

No. 22. A telegram from Constantinople has been received by the Bey, expressing the Sultan's entire approval of the course pursued by His Highness in the matter of his present difficulty with the French. His Highness is further instructed by the Sultan to continue in the same line of procedure.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 92.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)*

(No. 42.)  
My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded a telegram to the following effect:—

No. 23. It is reported by Havas, in a telegram published yesterday, that while approaching the Island of Tabarca, a French gun-boat, called the "Hyène," was fired upon by the natives. An official notification has since been made by M. Roustan to the Bey, that the French Government are determined to obtain atonement for the alleged insult, and revindicate the honour of their flag. The report is not generally credited here, as it is well known that there are scarcely any inhabitants in the island, and among them a French Consular Agent who has charge of the coral fishery in those waters. A superior officer has been sent by the Bey to inquire into and report upon the alleged occurrence, and orders have been given for the immediate dispatch of a considerable body of troops to reinforce the small garrison of Tabarca. The gun-boat referred to must, it appears to me, have been taking soundings with a view possibly to prepare for the disembarkation of a French military force, and occupation of that part of the Bey's territory.

"I beg to suggest that, in view of this further complication and the delays and interruptions attending the French administration of our only line of telegraphic communication, a small Government vessel may be sent to this station for the purpose of ensuring communication by way of Sicily.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 93.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)*

(No. 43.)  
My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a cypher telegram to the following effect:—

No. 24. The military officer commanding at Tabarca reports, by letter received yesterday, that a French ship of war arrived off that place three days ago and immediately proceeded to take soundings; that a parley thereupon took place between the French Commander and a number of the natives who had collected there, when a Chief of the Algerian tribe of Nehad acted as interpreter between them; and that, permission being

asked for a French military force to land and march across the mountains in the direction of Algeria, it was instantly refused by the natives, who declared that they would die rather than yield to such a proposition. The visit and irregular proceedings of the French ship had the effect of creating a good deal of excitement and irritation among the natives of that district, but it does not appear from the above report that she was fired upon by any of them.

I forward by post a copy of a petition from British subjects praying that, in view of the prevailing excitement, one or more of Her Majesty's ships may be ordered to these waters.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 94.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)*

(No. 44.)  
My Lord,

CONFORMABLY with the concluding paragraph of my telegram No. 24 of yesterday, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the petition therein referred to as having been addressed to me by some of the chief members of the Maltese colony, praying that, in view of the excitement which prevails here in consequence of the threatened hostilities on the part of France, one or more of Her Majesty's ships may be directed to proceed to Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure in No. 94.

*Petition addressed to Mr. Reade by some of the principal members of the Maltese Colony of Tunis.*

(Translation.)

Sir,

WHEREAS, owing to the now famous frontier question, the situation in which our colony is placed has become critical;

Whereas danger may at any moment arise, whereby the personal security of the whole colony would be comprised;

Whereas it is both prudent and easy to provide against dangers which have not yet occurred, and equally so to contemplate with patience, and if possible withdraw from those which actually do exist;

Whereas the only means of assuring the personal security consists in the mere presence of one or more of Her Majesty's ships in the roadstead of the Goletta.

For these reasons,

The Undersigned, in their own names and on behalf of their compatriots, beg that a copy of the present petition may be communicated to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, with a request that they may be pleased to send one or more of Her Majesty's ships to the Goletta for the above expressed object.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) SAVERIO ZAHRA.  
(And 17 others.)

*Tunis, April 18, 1881.*

No. 95.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)*

(No. 45.)  
My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 39 of the 13th instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a further letter from M. Roustan to the Bey, and His Highness' reply thereto, on the subject of the projected invasion of Tunisian territory and punishment of the frontier tribe of Hamira.

It is at the Bey's special request that my foreign colleagues and myself submit this correspondence to our respective Governments.



Pressure of an urgent and almost intolerable nature is, I understand, put on the Bey, with a view to compel him to co-operate with the French troops in the punishment of the above-named tribe. Sometimes in the form of a written communication, sometimes in that of a verbal message, hostile criticisms and threatening notices, extracted for the most part from the French newspapers, are submitted daily to His Highness' attention, steps being especially put on the current allegation that all the Powers of Europe had abandoned him, and that he is consequently at the mercy of France. Notwithstanding, however, all this pressure, the Bey, as already reported, insists on his inability to yield to the French demand.

It will appear from M. Roustan's letter that the departure of Sidi Ali Bey's camp is regarded by him in the light of a demonstration hostile to France. This circumstance, and the reported arrival of a French naval force before Tabarca, lead me to fear that there is no longer any hope of an amicable adjustment of the frontier question, and that we are now doomed to all the evils consequent upon a French invasion of this Regency. The general agitation and alarm of the past week have consequently assumed a more intensified character.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

P.S. While I write, I am informed of renewed importunities on the part of M. Roustan to induce the Bey to accede to the demand for co-operation on the frontier, or negotiate with him for amicable settlement of differences. Were His Highness to yield, I am convinced the terms of agreement would include a French Protectorate of this Regency.

Inclosure 1 in No. 95.

*M. Roustan to the Bey of Tunis.*

Monseigneur,

Tunis le 15 Avril, 1881.

LE Gouvernement de la République a appris avec beaucoup de peine que, malgré toutes mes instances, je n'ai pas été assez heureux pour convaincre votre Altesse de l'utilité d'une coopération militaire et d'une entente commune pour arriver à réprimer les Kroumirs et prendre les mesures qui seraient jugées nécessaires afin d'empêcher le retour des désordres sur la frontière. Mais il persiste dans la conviction qu'une action énergique est indispensable.

En présence d'une divergence d'opinion aussi grave, et dont les conséquences peuvent être plus graves encore, je crois de mon devoir d'insister de nouveau auprès de votre Altesse avec la respectueuse liberté qu'autorise sa bienveillance à mon égard. Je ne puis penser encore que ce refus soit définitif, malgré l'assurance que j'en ai reçue d'elle-même et que le Premier Ministre a renouvelée hier encore à l'Interprète du Consulat-Général.

Le départ du camp qui a eu lieu hier matin est venu, en effet, donner une force nouvelle aux arguments que j'ai eu l'honneur de développer devant votre Altesse pour lui prouver que la situation actuelle est à la fois pleine de périls et complètement irrationnelle. Parmi les troupes qui se sont mises en marche sous le commandement de Sidi Ali Bey et dans la foule nombreuse qui assistait à leur départ, il n'y avait pas un soldat, pas un spectateur qui eut la conviction qu'on marchait contre les Kroumirs et non contre les troupes Françaises. Ce n'est pas là une idée fausse répandue uniquement chez les indigènes. Elle est partagée et même hautement manifestée par un grand nombre d'Européens, ainsi que le prouvent les discours tenus publiquement depuis hier.

Je sais combien cette idée est contraire aux intentions véritables de votre Altesse, au désir qu'elle m'a exprimé par écrit et verbalement d'empêcher toute acte d'hostilité entre les troupes des deux pays, et dont elle a prouvé la sincérité, en donnant l'ordre au Commandant de ses forces de se retirer devant les troupes Françaises, en cas de rencontre, afin de prévenir tout conflit. Mais ces sages précautions suffiront-elles pour toutes les éventualités en présence des excitations de gens qui se disent les ennemis de la France, mais qui sont, en réalité, ceux de votre Altesse? Nul ne pourrait l'affirmer, et cette perspective alarmante m'inspire le courage de venir supplier de nouveau votre Altesse d'écouter la voix de ses véritables intérêts et de se confier à la loyauté et à l'amitié d'une Puissance, dont la protection n'a jamais fait défaut à la dynastie Heusseinite et au pays qu'elle gouverne.

J'ai, &c.  
(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 95.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

(Traduction.)

NOUS avons reçu la lettre que vous avez bien voulu nous adresser sous la date du 15 Avril courant, et nous avons pris connaissance de son contenu.

En vous ayant expliqué verbalement et par écrit les raisons qui nous empêchent d'adhérer à l'entrée des troupes Françaises sur notre territoire et de coopérer avec elles par la jonction de nos troupes, nous étions dans l'espoir que vous vous seriez pénétré de la vérité de ces raisons en les examinant, et surtout en prenant en considération les périls graves qui seraient nés d'une pareille coopération. Nous avions cru aussi que les hommes d'Etat qui gouvernent avec tant de sagesse et d'équité en France auraient, eux aussi, compris la légitimité de ces raisons et les auraient trouvées bien justes. Cette croyance de notre part était basée sur le grand fond que nous faisons de votre bienveillante intermédiaire, sachant que vous auriez présenté les choses à votre Gouvernement d'une manière parfaite, et que vous lui auriez décrit les graves conséquences qui en seraient résultées, et que personne n'aurait eu les moyens de les prévenir.

Malheureusement pour nous, votre lettre précitée nous fait perdre toute illusion à ce sujet. Nous nous trouvons donc dans la nécessité, pour sauvegarder les intérêts qui nous sont confiés et pour éviter les grands malheurs que nous prévoyons pour tous les habitants, de nous valoir encore des mêmes raisons que nous vous avons donné par écrit, et que nous vous avons renouvelées verbalement.

Vous savez que nous n'avons négligé aucun effort, aucune diligence dans l'adoption des mesures que commandaient les circonstances, et que nous avons franchement et loyalement mis en exécution.

Comment pouvions-nous dès lors être obligés par un voisin ami, avec lequel nous avons eu toujours soin de vivre en parfaite union et de sauvegarder les droits qui lui reviennent par son voisinage, d'accepter une situation peu en rapport avec notre dignité, et qui mettrait toute la population dans des périls sérieux qu'il nous aurait été impossible d'écarter?

Nous croyons qu'aucune divergence d'opinion n'existe, jusqu'à ce moment, entre nous quant au but que nous nous proposons. Ce but est d'indemniser par les Kroumirs les victimes de leurs déprédations, de punir les auteurs des méfaits commis, de prendre des dispositions pour prévenir leur retour à l'avenir.

Sur ces points nous sommes parfaitement d'accord; on y procédera avec les moyens de constatation exigés ordinairement dans ces sortes d'affaires. Le seul point secondaire qui pourrait nous séparer c'est le mode d'exécution, mais il est évident que quand on est d'accord sur le but, la différence sur les moyens d'y arriver ne peut pas constituer une difficulté, surtout quand il ne s'agit pas d'une différence impossible à résoudre, comme vous le dite dans votre lettre.

Vous savez également que le camp commandé par notre frère, Sidi Ali Bey, est parti Jeudi dernier. Son chef a pour instructions d'entrer en rapports avec le Commandant des forces Algériennes pour le prier de lui soumettre les réclamations que les Algériens ont contre les tribus des Kroumirs et autres, de soumettre, de son côté, les réclamations de nos tribus contre les Algériens, de faire indemniser les ayants-droit du montant de leurs réclamations légitimes, de punir les coupables et de prendre les mesures nécessaires qui nous paraîtront les plus efficaces pour assurer la tranquillité des frontières à l'avenir.

Elles étaient nos intentions et notre ferme proposition ainsi que nous vous l'avions déclaré et l'avons notifié officiellement aux différents Gouverneurs de nos provinces, nous ne pouvons pas vous dissimuler que ce n'est pas sans une grande peine que nous avons constaté dans votre lettre précitée que vous sembliez n'avoir pas trop de confiance dans les mesures que nous nous sommes proposées dans cette affaire, et que vous ayez basé votre opinion sur des bruits qui, en admettant qu'ils aient été réellement répandus, ils l'auraient été par des gens qui sont nos ennemis en même temps que ceux de votre Gouvernement. Nous vous avons, pourtant, assuré, tant par notre lettre du 12 courant, que dans notre entretien avec vous de Mercredi dernier, que nous n'aurions jamais et dans aucun cas permis à nos troupes d'avoir un conflit avec les troupes Françaises. Nous avons spécialement recommandé au commandant de notre armée que dans le cas (que nous voulons encore croire qu'il ne se produira pas) où les troupes Françaises entreraient sur le territoire Tunisien, contrairement à notre désir, qu'il cesse toute opération de son côté. C'est là tout ce que nous pouvons lui recommander. Si cette violation de notre territoire faisait naître des désordres que nous ne pouvons prévoir, nous déclinons, à cet égard, toute



responsabilité de notre part, et nous nous trouverions dans la nécessité de renouveler les déclarations contenues dans notre lettre du 8 courant.

Nous voudrions, néanmoins, insister auprès du Gouvernement de la République, comptant sur son amitié, pour qu'il nous laisse notre liberté d'action et ne pas l'entraver par l'exécution des décisions prises par lui, car, la simple probabilité d'une pareille exécution neutraliserait les effets des efforts déployés par nous et que nous avons développé plus haut.

Nous espérons donc que moyennant votre valable et bienveillante intervention, votre Gouvernement reconnaissant la loyauté de nos intentions et la sincérité de l'amitié que nous avons à cœur de maintenir avec lui, voudra bien prendre en considération la situation et nous faciliter les moyens d'arriver au but définitif qui est le désir réciproque de nous tous.

*Écrit le 19 Joumada-el-Oula, 1298 (18 Avril.1881).*

No. 96.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)*

(No. 379.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 25, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 367 of the 19th instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship further documents respecting the French expedition to Tunis, which have been published in the "Temps" newspaper.

They consist of a Circular from the Bey of Tunis to the foreign Consuls, of a letter from the French Chargé d'Affaires to the Bey, of the answer of the Bey to the French Chargé d'Affaires, and of a Circular from the French Chargé d'Affaires to the foreign Consuls.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 96.

*Extract from "Le Temps" of April 24 and 25, 1881.*

VOICI le texte de la lettre adressée au Bey de Tunis par M. Roustan, Consul-Général et Chargé d'Affaires de France :

"Monseigneur,

*"Le 20 Avril, 1881.*

"Le Gouvernement de la République s'est ému à juste titre des déclarations contenues dans les lettres que votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire ces jours derniers, et qu'elle a renouvelées dans ses communications à MM. les Représentants des Puissances Etrangères à Tunis, déclarations qui tendent à décliner la responsabilité des désordres, dans le cas où les troupes Françaises entreraient sur le territoire de la Régence pour châtier les Kroumirs. Il avait d'abord espéré que ce langage insolite de la part d'un Souverain n'était, dans la bouche de votre Altesse, que l'effet de ses préoccupations pour la sécurité publique. Malheureusement les propos tenus par le Premier Ministre à diverses personnes, et notamment à quelques membres du Corps Consulaire, ne permettent de conserver aucune illusion à cet égard, et font ressortir, au contraire, en l'aggravant, le caractère comminatoire de ces déclarations.

"Mon Gouvernement, qui ne pouvait demeurer indifférent à cette situation, m'a chargé, en conséquence, de déclarer à votre Altesse que s'il arrive le moindre mal à nos nationaux ou aux nationaux étrangers en général, c'est votre Altesse et son Premier Ministre qu'il en rendra personnellement et exclusivement responsables.

"Je me suis chargé d'informer, en même temps, votre Altesse que les troupes Françaises doivent s'établir immédiatement à Tabarque, pour leurs opérations contre les Kroumirs, et de la prier de bien vouloir donner des ordres pour faire retirer de cette localité les troupes Tunisiennes, afin d'éviter tout conflit, et conformément à la promesse que votre Altesse a bien voulu me faire ces jours-ci. Cette précaution est d'autant plus nécessaire que notre pavillon vient d'être accueilli à Tabarque à coups de fusil par les soldats au service de votre Altesse, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de l'en informer avant-hier.

(Signé) "TH. ROUSTAN."

*Tunis, le 23 Avril, 1881, 4 heures, soir.*

Je vous ai envoyé textuellement par télégramme la lettre de M. Roustan au Bey et la Circulaire Tunisienne aux Consuls. Le troisième document, la réponse du Bey au Consul de France, est simplement une amplification de la dite Circulaire. En voici les passages notables :—

"Nous déployons constamment nos plus grands efforts pour maintenir et assurer de toute manière l'ordre et la tranquillité publique. Nous répétons que, dans les conditions ordinaires, nous pouvons garantir la sécurité de tous les habitants, sans que rien de mauvais arrive à aucun d'eux.

"Mais, dans des circonstances anormales, comme serait l'invasion du territoire Tunisien par des troupes Françaises, invasion qui pourrait amener des complications et une effervescence générale sur tous les points de la Régence, il nous serait difficile, malgré tous les efforts que nous continuerons à faire, de pouvoir garantir le maintien de l'ordre."

En conséquence, le Bey, dans sa réponse, regarde comme injuste de rendre le Souverain et le Gouvernement Tunisien responsables d'événements ultérieurs. Quant à Tabarque, il est dit dans cette réponse :—

"Nous avons donné pour instructions au chef de notre armée d'éviter le contact entre les deux troupes, pour empêcher une collision, au cas où les troupes Françaises entreraient sur le territoire Tunisien, chose à laquelle, du reste, nous ne pouvons jamais consentir. De cette déclaration, toutefois, on ne saurait conclure que, s'il convenait aux troupes Françaises de s'établir sur un point de notre territoire occupé par nos soldats, nous devrions les retirer. Néanmoins, si les troupes Françaises occupaient un point du territoire avec la violence (*sic*) et contrairement à notre volonté nos soldats ne devront pas les combattre."

La conclusion de cette lettre est une nouvelle protestation basée, comme la précédente, sur une prétendue violation de l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman.

*Tunis, le 22 Avril, 1881, 5 heures, matin.*

Un membre notable d'une colonie étrangère me communique à l'instant la lettre-circulaire suivante reçue aujourd'hui par les Consuls des diverses nations Européennes résidant à Tunis :—

*"Le 23 Avril, 1881.*

"Le Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de la République Française, a l'honneur de porter ce qui suit à la connaissance de tous les Représentants des nations étrangères à Tunis. En présence des déclarations renouvelées par le Bey dans sa dernière communication au Corps Consulaire et des alarmes plus vives qu'elles ont causées dans la population, le Soussigné s'est fait un devoir d'informer son Altesse qu'il était prêt à mettre à sa disposition la compagnie de débarquement la "Jeanne Darc," actuellement en rade de la Goulette, avec deux canons, force très suffisante pour maintenir l'ordre dans le quartier Européen et le protéger contre une agression.

"Le Soussigné a seulement ajouté que ce débarquement ne pouvait avoir lieu que sur la demande expresse du Bey. Le Bey ayant, ce matin même, décliné formellement ces offres, le Soussigné prend acte de ce refus et s'empresse d'en informer ses collègues.

"Ils en conclueront sans doute comme lui que les inquiétudes qu'éprouve le Gouvernement Tunisien pour le maintien de l'ordre sont moins grandes que celles qu'il manifeste ou bien que ce Gouvernement s'est déterminé à accepter dans toutes les éventualités les responsabilités qu'il essaye de décliner jusqu'à présent.

"Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) "ROUSTAN."

*Tunis, le 22 Avril, 1881, 10 heures, matin.*

Voici le texte de la Circulaire communiquée aux Consuls étrangers à Tunis :—

"Le 20 Avril courant, le Chargé d'Affaires de France nous a adressé la lettre dont vous trouverez ci-joint copie, cette lettre étant relative à une demande contre laquelle nous nous sommes toujours opposés et nous ne cessons de nous opposer; ainsi que nous l'avons déclaré par notre précédente communication, nous avons été obligés de répondre au Représentant de la République par la note dont vous trouverez également ci-joint copie.

"Il ne faut pas (*sic*) vous échapper que l'entrée des soldats Français sur un point quelconque du territoire Tunisien, quel qu'en soit d'ailleurs le nombre, amène des dangers dont la gravité vous a été signalée. Nous avons organisé et expédié un camp pour le règlement de la question. L'ordre et la tranquillité continuent, grâce à Dieu, à régner dans le pays, comme vous pouvez vous-mêmes le constater; mais si les troupes Françaises

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entrent sur notre territoire, en grand ou en petit nombre, nous ne saurions prévenir alors les périls immenses qui pourraient en résulter.

"Nous sommes par conséquent dans le devoir de décliner toute responsabilité pour les périls qui pourraient résulter d'une pareille situation, et de la rejeter tout entière sur celui qui en est la cause.

"Nous portons cela à votre connaissance, pour la sauvegarde de tous les intérêts en cause. Nous vous prions d'en informer télégraphiquement votre Gouvernement, espérant qu'il reconnaîtra, dans sa sagesse et son équité, la légitimité des motifs de notre attitude, et qu'il portera dans l'examen de cette affaire l'esprit d'impartialité que nous lui connaissons.

"Ecrit le 21 Djouma-el-Oula, 1298 (20 Avril, 1881).

(Contresigné) "MOUSTAPHA." (Signé) "MOHAMMED-ES-SADOK.

No. 97.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 26.)*

(No. 380.)

My Lord,

Paris, April 25, 1881.

THIS afternoon, in execution of the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 390 of the day before yesterday, I said to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that Her Majesty's Government had learned with pleasure the manner in which he had received the intimation I had been instructed to give him, that should there be a prospect of further action on the part of France in Tunis, it might be necessary to send British ships of war thither to protect the life and property of British subjects against a possible outbreak of Mahomedan fanaticism.

I reminded his Excellency that he had said that in case there should be a probability that life and property would be in danger, every nation would feel bound to provide for the safety of its own people, and that in such a contingency the French Government also would send ships of war to Tunis, which it was not their present intention to do.

I stated to him that, with regard to this statement, your Lordship had observed that you were under the belief that there was already a French ship of war at Tunis.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire answered that undoubtedly there was one French ship of war stationed, as usual, at Tunis, but that the French Government had, as matters now stood, no intention of sending any more ships of war thither. The ship now there, the armoured ship, "Jeanne d'Arc," was, he said, about to be relieved by another ship of the same class (the "Reine Blanche," he thought), but only one of these ships would remain. He would say frankly to me that one of the reasons which deterred the French Government from increasing their naval force at Tunis was the desire not to give cause for the fleets of other Powers to appear there.

As regarded the persons and property of the Christians in the city, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire was of opinion that the Bey and those under whose advice he was acting represented them to be in much greater danger than they really were, and this for the express purpose of bringing foreign ships of war to Tunis, and embarrassing, if possible, the French operations.

I had no doubt, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire went on to say, read the correspondence on the subject that had been printed in the "Temps" newspaper, and I should have observed that, on the one hand, the French Chargé d'Affaires had declared that France would hold the Bey and his Prime Minister personally responsible if the smallest injury were done to Frenchmen or other foreigners; and that, on the other hand, the Chargé d'Affaires had offered the Bey to place at his disposal, for the preservation of order, a force to be landed from the French ship of war stationed at the place.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire proceeded to remark that, even in point of expedition, considering the difficulty of approaching Tunis by sea, the safety of Europeans could be more efficaciously provided for by the advance of a French force by land than by the dispatch of ships of war.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire went on to say that he was surprised that so little intelligence had recently arrived from the expeditionary force. It was to be expected that the news of the occupation of the Island of Tabarca would have already arrived. The future movements of the French troops would depend in great measure upon the attitude of the Tunisian Government. The Bey alleged as a reason for not sending his forces to co-operate with the French, that he could not, as a Mussulman Ruler, order Mussulman soldiers to act with a Christian army against men of their own faith. It was not to be

denied that this was a solid argument. The French would be satisfied if the Tunisian troops neither oppose them nor occupy positions which would be inconvenient to them. In fact, the Tunisian troops must be separated from the French by a distance to be determined by the French General.

The objects of the French expedition were, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said, to chastise the lawless tribes, to ensure the permanent establishment of order on the frontier, to settle outstanding claims, and to take effectual securities against Tunis being used by any foreign Power as a means of disturbing the French rule in Algeria. Against the annexation of Tunis, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire's objections were, he affirmed, as strong as ever.

I mentioned the word "Protectorate," and thereupon M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that the exact terms of the Treaty to be concluded with the Bey were of course not yet settled, but that, with a view to the objects he had mentioned, the Treaty must secure to France a predominance which would in fact resemble protection.

I proceeded to say to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that your Lordship had directed me to remind him that Great Britain has always maintained the doctrine that the Regency of Tunis is under the suzerainty of the Porte, and forms a part of the Ottoman Empire.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire urged that this doctrine was of very recent date, and had never been acquiesced in by France. He especially repudiated the Firman of 1871, which the Porte had, he said, taken upon itself to issue at a moment when France was in great straits.

I did not argue the question, but simply repeated that I was instructed to remind him that Great Britain maintains that Tunis is under the suzerainty of the Porte, and forms a part of the Ottoman Empire.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 98.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 18.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 26, 1881, 2:45 P.M.

THE accounts given in your several telegrams as to danger to foreign residents are not quite consistent. But a dispatch-boat has been ordered to Tunis in case of interruption of telegraph.

Continue to maintain a reserved and cautious attitude.

No. 99.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 211.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 26, 1881, 3:45 P.M.

COMMUNICATE to French Government, if you think right, that we are sending dispatch-boat to Tunis for reason given in my telegram to Reade.

We understand the telegraph line from Tunis might be destroyed.

No. 100.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 395. Extender.)  
My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 26, 1881.

YOU will have learnt from my telegram No. 18 to Mr. Reade of to-day's date, which has been repeated to your Excellency, that a dispatch-boat has been ordered to Tunis.

I authorize your Excellency, if you think it advisable, to inform the French Government of this decision; but in doing so you should explain to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that the dispatch-boat is sent because Her Majesty's Government understand that there is a possibility that telegraphic communication with Tunis may be interrupted.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.



No. 101.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 397 A. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, April 26, 1881.*

THE Italian Government have stated that the French fleet anchored in Golfe Juan have orders to proceed to Goletta.

I request that your Excellency will ascertain and report to me whether this is the case.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 102.

*Sir J. Pauncefote to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 26, 1881.*

WITH reference to your letter of the 22nd instant, I am directed by Earl Granville to request that you will move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to give the necessary orders for a dispatch-boat to be stationed at once at Goletta, in order to keep up telegraphic communication with Her Majesty's Agent at Tunis.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

No. 103.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 27.)*

(No. 385.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 26, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a despatch from Colonel Brackenbury, reporting the latest news from the Tunis expedition, and from Algeria.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 103.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.*

My Lord,

*Paris, April 26, 1881.*

THE absence of news from the Tunis expeditionary force during the last few days was the cause of some anxiety here, which has scarcely been allayed by the reports that have arrived to-day.

It appears from the inclosed extract from the "Courrier de Bône," published in this morning's "République Française," that the landing at Tabarka did not take place last week at the time originally intended, because it was supposed it would be resisted by the Tunisian troops holding the fort, and by a large body of Kroumirs. The "Surveillante" had the horses of a battery of artillery on board. Her Commander feared the result among them of a cannonade, judged it expedient not to attempt the disembarkation, and returned to Bône, as did the "Hyène," with a broken screw.

The "Surveillante" and "Hyène" left Bône again with infantry on the 21st, with other ships and troops, as already reported by me in my despatch No. 31 of the 22nd instant, but up to yesterday afternoon the sea had been so rough that no disembarkation at Tabarka had taken place.

The column of General Logerot, the right column of the expeditionary force, had on the 24th instant advanced from Sidi-Youssef—a point on the frontier in a direct line from Souk-Haras to Kef, and about midway between them—to the neighbourhood of Ksural Hadda on the Oued-Mellègue, only 11 miles distant from Kef. Thus far this column had encountered no resistance.

Very heavy rains had set in, and were still falling on the 25th over the whole theatre of operations. The country is said to be flooded at several points on the frontier, and this may be the cause that no movement of any other column has taken place, so far as we know, up to date.

In the meantime stories are circulated which cause alarm. The indiscipline shown on the march by the 40th Regiment of infantry of the line caused the removal of its Colonel by the Minister of War. The fact that eleven of the tirailleurs Algériens deserted in a body at Sidi Youssef has given rise to an uneasy feeling as to the loyalty of the native Algerian troops. An officer of the Bureaux Arabes, with his escort, has been assassinated between Ain Sisifa and Géryville by the tribe Ouled-Sidi-Sheikh, and a column has been sent towards their district. There can be no doubt that considerable reluctance and opposition, not amounting to actual resistance, has been shown to compliance with the requisitions made in Algeria for men and animals for transport.

Altogether, the news from Algeria is disquieting. It is remembered that nearly a month has now passed since the action in which five French soldiers were killed by the Kroumirs, and that as yet nothing has been done to punish the offenders.

Meanwhile, on the evening of the 24th, additional reinforcements were dispatched from Marseilles—three weak battalions of infantry and three batteries of artillery. The flying squadron is reported to have left Toulon yesterday, and the squadron of evolution to be awaiting orders.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 103.

*Extract from the "Courrier de Bône" of April 23, 1881.*

ON lit dans le "Courrier de Bône," du 23 Avril:—

"Ce n'est pas sans surprise que les habitants de notre ville ont vu, Mardi matin la 'Surveillante,' partie l'avant-veille avec des troupes pour opérer un débarquement à Tabarka, revenir en rade de Bône et mouiller ses ancres à la place qu'elle avait quittée la veille. Peu après, les hommes du 143<sup>e</sup> débarquaient sur le quai et se dirigeaient vers le camp.

"Que s'était-il donc passé?—Le voici: La 'Surveillante' arrivée Lundi matin devant l'île de Tabarka, prit position ainsi que les trois canonnières. Le jour s'étant levé, on put constater que la garnison Tunisienne du fort avait reçu de sérieux renforts en hommes et en artillerie et que les Kroumirs, dont l'attention avait été éveillée l'avant-veille par les sondages de la 'Hyène,' occupaient en force la plage et les flancs de la montagne.

"Un officier des troupes du Bey se présenta en ce moment en parlementaire et monta à bord. Il exposa au Commandant que le fort de Tabarka était occupé par l'armée régulière du Bey, que la Tunisie n'était pas en guerre avec la France, qu'une agression contre la garnison constituerait à la fois une atteinte aux droits des gens et une violation de territoire, &c.

"Pendant ce temps, des groupes d'indigènes armés circulaient sur la plage et dans la montagne, montrant par leur attitude qu'ils attendaient l'issue des pourparlers pour agir. Un témoin oculaire évalue à 3,000 ou 4,000 le nombre des Kroumirs rassemblés en cet endroit. La canonnière la 'Hyène' longea plusieurs fois le rivage, mais aucun coup de feu ne fut tiré contre elle. Il était évident qu'un mot d'ordre avait été donné et que les Kroumirs marchaient d'accord avec la garnison du fort.

"Un débarquement accompli dans ces circonstances défavorables aurait pu nous coûter beaucoup de monde et rencontrer de graves difficultés. La 'Surveillante' avait à son bord une batterie d'artillerie, c'est-à-dire soixante chevaux amarrés sur le pont. Les détonations des grosses pièces d'artillerie et la trépidation qui en est la conséquence, auraient pu causer les plus graves désordres en affolant les chevaux. Le Commandant Lacombe, de la 'Surveillante,' officier aussi prévoyant que brave, à qui incombait le commandement général, apprécia que le débarquement ne pouvait être accompli dans ces conditions et décida de rentrer au port de Bône pour signaler ce qui se passait, prendre des ordres et organiser des moyens d'action suffisants. Le 'Chacal' et le 'Léopard' restèrent en vue de Tabarka, pour croiser et empêcher les débarquements de troupes et de munitions. La 'Hyène,' dont l'hélice s'était cassée, revint vers notre port pour placer son hélice de rechange.

"Avant-hier, la 'Surveillante' est repartie vers l'est, ayant à son bord des troupes d'infanterie. Le transport la 'Corrèze,' arrivant de Toulon, a dû embarquer d'autres troupes à La Calle. Le croiseur 'Tourville' et la canonnière la 'Hyène,' dont l'avarie est réparée, ont appareillé hier matin. Il est probable que si le débarquement n'est pas accompli à l'heure où paraissent ces lignes, il aura lieu dans la journée de demain.

"Quoi qu'en disent des dépêches datées de Tunis envoyées aux journaux de Paris  
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dans un but que nous ne saisissons pas parfaitement, les Kroumirs sont loin d'avoir mis bas les armes. Ils se préparent au contraire à opposer une énergique résistance à nos troupes, et les coups de feu tirés le 16 Avril contre la 'Hyène,' sont la preuve irrécusable de leurs intentions belliqueuses."

No. 104.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 27.)*

(No. 386. Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 26, 1881.*

THE Report from Colonel Brackenbury (No. 33 of to-day), which I transmit to your Lordship in my immediately preceding despatch, shows, on the one hand, that the progress of the French expeditionary force, looked at from a military point of view, is slow and not satisfactory, and, on the other hand, that no scruples are entertained with regard to entering and occupying Tunisian territory.

Your Lordship will have learnt, moreover, from my despatch No. 380 of yesterday, that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs avows that a Treaty is to be exacted from the Bey, the effect of which will resemble the establishment of a French Protectorate.

It is, I suppose, to be presumed that so long as any semblance of independence is left to the Bey, the Treaties between Tunis and other Powers, and any most-favoured-nation clauses which they may contain, will subsist, at all events, *de jure*.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 105.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 27.)*

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 26, 1881.*

HIGHNESS the Bey of Tunis prays your Lordship to lay the following message before Her Majesty the Queen of England and the British Government:—

"In spite of the protestations which we have made in our own name and in that of our Suzerain, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and notwithstanding the proofs we have given of our ability to repress any excess of the Kromir frontier tribe which may have given cause for complaint, and the fact that the troops commanded by our brother and heir now occupy that portion of our dominions which they inhabit, the Government of the French Republic has caused its troops to invade our country, and, not content with entering that portion of the Regency where the Kromirs reside, have occupied a part of our territory far distant from the locality in question, and entirely unconnected with it. The repeated protests which we have made, both in our name and in that of our Suzerain, have been disregarded, and our territory has been violated without a declaration of war, either against ourselves or our political superior, and this with a total disregard of the usual rules and observances prescribed under similar circumstances by the law of nations. We are at a loss to understand the reason why we are to be [?] thus treated by a powerful Government with which we have always been on the most cordial terms, and whose interest in our Regency we have studiously and constantly endeavoured to promote. We are the more astonished at the measures resorted to against us because the French Representative has not interrupted his relations with us, and only two days ago assured us that as peace prevailed between the Republic and ourselves a landing of French soldiers on our coast could only take place with our own consent and concurrence. Under these circumstances we appeal to our august ally Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, as well as to all the Great Powers Signatories of the Treaty of Berlin to mediate between the French Government and ourselves. We do this the more readily because the country which we govern is, as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, entitled to the protection afforded by that Convention. We are willing to submit unreservedly all complaints brought against us to their friendly arbitration. We feel assured that the Great Powers of Europe will take into consideration the Treaties they have entered into with my predecessors and myself, and will not ignore our constant endeavours to guarantee equal privileges and impartial justice to all European subjects residing in our State. In our hour of dire distress we implore the Great Powers to interpose their friendly offices on our behalf. We believe that justice is on our side, but we leave the consideration of our position, as well as

our own interests and those of our Suzerain, to the justice, impartiality, and generosity of the Great Powers.—MAHAMMED SADYK."

No. 106.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 27.)*

(No. 27.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 26, 1881.*

TWO divisions of French troops have invaded Tunisian territory, one marching upon Keff, the other inside the Hamir district. Six French ships of war off Tabarca, where an immediate landing is threatened. Great excitement prevails. Further advance of the French will place the lives of all the Europeans in the country in great danger. I hope some English ship of war may be sent to Tunis without delay.

No. 107.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Sir J. Pauncefoot.—(Received April 27.)*

*Admiralty, April 27, 1881.*

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request you will state to Earl Granville that, in compliance with the request contained in his letter of the 26th instant, instructions were sent yesterday to the Senior Naval Officer at Malta to send a dispatch-boat or small vessel at once to Goletta, to maintain telegraphic communication between England and Her Majesty's Agent at Tunis by Marsala.

A telegram has been received this morning from Malta, reporting that the "Condor" gun-vessel left that port for the above-named purpose at 10 A.M. to-day.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

No. 108.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 25. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, April 27, 1881.*

Sir,

IN your telegram No. 27 of yesterday you state that the lives of all the Europeans in the Regency of Tunis will be placed in great danger by the further advance of the French troops, and you request the immediate presence of a ship-of-war.

I have desired you by telegraph to inform me, in the first instance, how you propose that ships should protect British subjects scattered throughout the country, and against whom their protection is required.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 109.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 27, 7:30 P.M.)*

(No. 39.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Paris, April 27, 1881, 5:30 P.M.*

FRENCH Minister for Foreign Affairs desires me to inform your Lordship that it is a falsehood that any French fleet is ordered to go to Tunis.

He says that the [only addition to the] French naval force in Tunis waters is the one iron-clad before Tabarca.

Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles reported the day before yesterday that the fleet was lying at Toulon, fully coaled and provisioned, and ready to leave at a moment's notice.

I have told the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty's Government are sending a dispatch-boat to Tunis, on account of the possible interruption of telegraphic communication.



No. 110.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 19.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, April 27, 1881, 8:30 P.M.*

HOW and against whom do you propose that ships should protect British subjects scattered through Regency?

No. 111.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)*

(No. 46.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 20, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day telegraphed to your Lordship a communication to the following effect:—

No. 25. It is reported from Tabarca that a French naval force consisting of one iron-clad and three other ships arrived here, on the 18th instant, and anchored in the vicinity of the island and general landing place of that district.

The officer in command of the principal fort proceeding on board the flag-ship was, it appears, informed by the French Commander that he had instructions to take possession of the two forts, and recommended, for his own personal safety, to remain on board, an invitation which, it is further stated, was declined by the Tunisian officer, on the ground of his not having received any order from the Bey's Government to quit his post. A notification of the intended disembarkation of French troops at Tabarca was this day formally made by M. Roustan, who recommended that, with a view to prevent any conflict occurring between French and Tunisian soldiers, the Tabarca garrison should be immediately withdrawn. With this request His Highness declared his inability to comply, but he reiterated to M. Roustan the assurance he had previously given that, if his territory were invaded by a French force, his troops would simply retire under protest.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 112.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)*

(No. 47.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 22, 1881.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 25 of the 20th instant, reporting the arrival off Tabarca of a French naval force and threatened disembarkation of troops of the same nation, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of M. Roustan's letter to the Bey, notifying the intention of the Republican Government to land a military force in that district, and recommending the immediate withdrawal of the Tabarca garrison. I beg also to inclose a copy of the Bey's reply to that communication, having, in common with all my foreign colleagues, been requested to submit this correspondence to the consideration of our respective Governments.

While promising to do all in his power to maintain the public tranquillity and assure the security of all foreigners residing in the Regency, the Bey naturally declines to assume responsibility for what may happen in the event of an invasion of this country by French troops.

The insistence of M. Roustan to fasten that responsibility on His Highness and his Prime Minister appears to be most unreasonable; and I regret to learn that his views in this instance are indorsed by my Austrian colleague, who has urged the Bey with some warmth to accept all the responsibility, and so prepare the way for a violation of his territory with his own consent.

I have no change to report in the position of things at the frontier, so far as regards the tranquillity of that part of the Regency.

Sy Ali Bey's camp, it is said, will arrive this day in the Hamir district, where suitable roads have been formed, and other preparations made for his reception. The whole tribe is in a state of submission to the Bey's rule, and there is no doubt that, unless hostilities are entered upon in the meanwhile, all those who have been in any way connected with the late alleged raids across the frontier will be delivered into the Bey's hands, and summarily dealt with.

The present difficulty over, it is the Bey's intention to build forts on various points of the boundary line between this country and Algeria, and by means of a military garrison in each of them assure the future peace and tranquillity of the frontier tribes.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 112.

*M. Roustan to the Bey of Tunis.**Tunis, le 20 Avril, 1881.*

Monseigneur,

LE Gouvernement de la République s'est ému à juste titre des déclarations contenues dans les lettres que votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire ces jours derniers et renouvelées dans ses communications à MM. les Représentants des Puissances Etrangères à Tunis, déclarations qui tendent à décliner la responsabilité des désordres, dans le cas où les troupes Françaises entreraient sur le territoire de la Régence pour châtier les Kroumirs. Il avait d'abord espéré que ce langage insolite de la part d'un Souverain n'était dans la bouche de votre Altesse que l'effet de ses préoccupations pour la sécurité publique. Malheureusement les propos tenus par le Premier Ministre à diverses personnes et notamment à quelques membres du Corps Consulaire, ne permettent de conserver aucune illusion à cet égard, et font ressortir, au contraire, en l'aggravant, le caractère comminatoire de ces déclarations.

Mon Gouvernement, qui ne pouvait demeurer indifférent à cette situation, m'a chargé, en conséquence, de déclarer à votre Altesse que, s'il arrive le moindre mal à nos nationaux ou aux nationaux étrangers en général, c'est votre Altesse et son Premier Ministre qu'il en rendra personnellement et exclusivement responsables.

Je me suis chargé d'informer, en même temps, votre Altesse, que les troupes Françaises doivent s'établir immédiatement à Tabarque pour leurs opérations contre les Kroumirs, et de la prier de bien vouloir donner des ordres pour faire retirer de cette localité les troupes Tunisiennes, afin d'éviter tout conflit et conformément à la promesse que votre Altesse a bien voulu me faire ces jours-ci. Cette précaution est d'autant plus nécessaire que notre pavillon vient d'être accueilli à Tabarque à coups de fusils par des soldats au service de votre Altesse, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de l'informer avant-hier.

J'ai, &amp;c.

(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 112.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

(Traduction.)

NOUS avons reçu votre lettre en date de ce jour, et avons pris connaissance de son contenu.

Nous avons été surpris de ce que vous avez attribué à notre Premier Ministre sur la question de la sécurité publique, au point que votre Gouvernement a pu changer d'opinion sur nos déclarations à cet égard contenues dans les diverses communications que nous vous avons faites. Notre Premier Ministre ne peut qu'avoir réitéré à vous et aux autres Représentants des Puissances Etrangères nos propres déclarations, qui peuvent être résumées ainsi.

Nous déploierons constamment nos plus grands efforts pour maintenir et assurer de toute manière l'ordre et la tranquillité publiques. Nous vous répétons que, dans les conditions ordinaires, nous pouvons garantir la sécurité de tous les habitants, sans que rien de mauvais arrive à aucun d'eux; mais, dans des circonstances anormales, comme serait l'invasion du territoire Tunisien par des troupes Françaises, invasion qui pourrait amener des complications et une effervescence générale sur tous les points de la Régence, il nous serait difficile, malgré tous les efforts que nous continuerons à faire, de pouvoir garantir le maintien de l'ordre. Il nous semble que ce serait également difficile pour tout autre pays qui se trouverait dans un cas analogue au nôtre. Par conséquent, si la tranquillité publique se trouvait menacée, par suite de ces circonstances, il ne serait pas rationnel d'en faire retomber la responsabilité sur le Souverain du pays. Cela établi, nous ne pouvons convenir qu'aucune responsabilité de ce genre puisse être imputable soit à nous, soit à notre Premier Ministre, soit à notre Gouvernement.

Vous nous demandez ensuite de donner des ordres à nos soldats qui sont à Tabarque

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de se retirer de cette localité pour être occupée par les soldats Français, vous basant en cela sur la promesse que nous vous avons faite de ne pas permettre à nos troupes d'avoir un conflit avec les soldats d'un Gouvernement ami comme celui de la France.

A cet égard nous vous déclarons que notre amitié pour le Gouvernement de la République nous a dicté le devoir de vous promettre ce qui est notre ferme proposition de maintenir, c'est-à-dire, d'éviter toute rencontre, qui, à Dieu ne plaise, pourrait avoir lieu entre nos troupes et les troupes Françaises. C'est ainsi que nous avons donné pour instructions au chef de notre armée d'arrêter ses opérations et d'éviter le contact entre les deux troupes pour empêcher une collision dans le cas où les troupes Françaises entreraient sur le territoire Tunisien, chose à laquelle, du reste, nous ne pouvons jamais consentir. De cette déclaration qui vous a été faite dans les termes les plus clairs et les plus précis on ne peut pas conclure que s'il convenait aux troupes Françaises de s'établir sur un point de notre territoire occupé par nos soldats nous devrions les retirer. Ceci découle de ce que le principe même de l'entrée des soldats Français sur le territoire Tunisien n'est pas admis par nous. Néanmoins, si les troupes Françaises occuperaient un point du territoire, avec la violence et contrairement à notre volonté, nos soldats ne devraient pas les combattre.

Par suite de ce qui précède nous ne pouvons nullement accorder la demande formulée par votre lettre au sujet de Tabarque.

Nous tenons à vous dire, en dernier lieu, que l'entrée des troupes Françaises sur le territoire Tunisien étant contraire à nos droits et à ceux de l'Empire Ottoman, dont la Régence forme une partie intégrante, nous nous trouvons dans la nécessité de vous renouveler les déclarations contenues dans nos précédentes lettres, savoir, que l'occupation d'un point quelconque du territoire de la Régence constitue une atteinte portée à ces droits et contre laquelle nous protestons de la manière la plus formelle. Nous devons également décliner toute responsabilité pour toutes les conséquences qui pourraient naître d'une pareille atteinte.

*Ecrit le 21 de Joumad 1<sup>re</sup>, 1298 (20 Avril, 1881).*

## No. 113.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated confidentially to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, April 28.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 25 Avril, 1881.*

JE vous transmets ci-après, pour votre information, le télégramme que je viens d'adresser à votre collègue de Paris pour les affaires Tunisiennes :—

“Reçu télégramme.

“Tout en nous associant au désir de M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire de voir le calme se rétablir dans les parties agitées de la Tunisie, nous croyons cependant devoir exprimer nos regrets au sujet des remarques de son Excellence tendant à ne constater qu'un simple pouvoir religieux de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sur la province de Tunisie.

“La souveraineté de Sa Majesté sur cette partie intégrante de son Empire constitue depuis longtemps un fait acquis incontestable ; et, dès lors, nous croyons superflu de nous étendre là-dessus. Nous nous contentons seulement, et ceci est de notoriété publique, de rappeler que la nomination de Gouverneurs-Généraux qui se sont succédés dans l'administration de cette province a toujours été subordonnée à la volonté et aux ordres du Souverain ; que les Firmans officiels de ces nominations émanaient de la Sublime Porte qui y consacrait chaque fois son droit de souveraineté sur Tunis et son droit de sauvegarder, à elle seule, les privilèges octroyés à cet Eyalet ; qu'enfin le Firman adressé en dernier lieu au Pacha actuel, sur les sollicitations de Son Altesse et de la population, a mentionné solennellement la consécration de ces mêmes droits, ainsi que des nouveaux privilèges accordés à Son Altesse, et a été reconnu comme tel par les Puissances en général.

“Se basant sur ce qui précède, le Gouvernement Impérial ne saurait déroger aux principes et à l'ordre des choses ainsi établi, et il considère comme de son devoir de les maintenir intacts.

“Vous voudrez bien soumettre ces considérations d'un ordre si élevé à la bienveillante attention de son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.”

## No. 114.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated confidentially to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, April 28.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 26 Avril, 1881.*

LA Sublime Porte vient de recevoir deux nouveaux télégrammes de Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis que vous trouverez ci-après *in extenso* :—

“Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

“J'ai adressé les 8 et 15 de Djoum des Mémoires signalant à votre Altesse les difficultés avec le Consul de France. Que Dieu protège la Régence contre leurs conséquences. J'ai prié votre Altesse de s'en occuper d'urgence pour prévenir les périls que pourraient courir la Tunisie dans cette situation, et de m'informer, pour ma tranquillité, du résultat de la bienveillante sollicitude de votre Altesse. Je veille avec énergie pour parer aux éventualités ; mais je crains le travail qui se pratique de l'autre côté pour atteindre leur but. Ainsi, la concentration des troupes Françaises sur la frontière continue. Un navire de guerre Français manœuvrait dernièrement d'une manière insolente sur les côtes de Tabar. Quoique leur mobile soit d'exciter les Arabes de la montagne pour avoir un prétexte qui leur permit d'entrer dans le territoire Tunisien, malgré cela l'ordre n'a pas été troublé. Votre Altesse recevra détail par courrier.”

(Signé)

“MOHAMED-ES-SADIK.

“Tunis, le 21 Avril, 1881.”

“Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

“Nous avons reçu aujourd'hui avis de l'officier chargé de Tabar, nous annonçant que quatre navires de guerre Français s'étant approchés du Canal de Tabar, les montagnards Kroumirs s'en sont émus. Le Commandant de la flotille a fait demander à l'officier de lui permettre de descendre au port qui s'y trouve ; il a refusé. Alors, le Commandant lui fit savoir qu'il était nécessaire qu'ils occupassent l'un ou l'autre des ports qui s'y trouvent ; même refus de sa part. Alors, le Consul de France a adressé une demande tendant à ordonner à nos soldats qui sont à Tabar de se retirer pour y faire entrer des troupes Françaises ; nous lui avons répondu que nous ne permettons point cela, et que, si les troupes Françaises débarquent contre notre gré et malgré nos protestations, nous ordonnerons à nos soldats de ne pas combattre. Ceci prouve qu'ils continuent toujours dans leur dessein, qu'ils seront amenés forcément à occuper une grande partie du territoire Tunisien, malgré toutes les mesures prises par nous. Quoi qu'il en soit, la tranquillité continue à régner partout ; mais nous appréhendons une grande catastrophe si les troupes Françaises entraient sur le territoire.

“Nous avons adressé directement de Tunis un duplicata de ce télégramme en chiffre.

(Signé)

“MOHAMED-ES-SADIK.

“Cagliari, le 21 Avril, 1881.”

Personne n'ignore, et je crois superflu de m'étendre là-dessus, que la Tunisie fait depuis très longtemps partie intégrante de l'Empire ; que les droits de souveraineté de la Sublime Porte sont consacrés par des actes immémoriaux et en dernier lieu par le Firman octroyé en 1871 au Pacha de Tunis sur la demande de ce dernier.

En face d'un pareil ordre de choses, Son Altesse devait, comme elle l'a fait, nous prévenir des mesures de répression qu'elle a prises ; et le Gouvernement Impérial a transmis itérativement au Pacha l'ordre de mettre sans retard à exécution les mesures en question, afin de châtier les quelques tribus Berbères qui ont fait des incursions du côté de l'Algérie et de rétablir l'ordre sur les lieux.

Nous persistons dans la croyance que nous avons toujours eue en l'efficacité de ces mesures qui sont à coup sûr destinées à donner satisfaction aux griefs du Gouvernement Français.

Je vous prie donc de . . . . . tous les points essentiels que je viens d'indiquer auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique qui n'a cessé, nous le constatons avec plaisir, de reconnaître la validité des droits souverains séculaires de la Sublime Porte sur sa Province de Tunis.

Voulant, d'ailleurs, tenir compte du désir légitime du Gouvernement de la République



Française de voir le calme se rétablir sur les frontières, le Gouvernement Impérial est tout disposé à s'entendre avec le Cabinet Français pour faire une enquête sur les circonstances qui ont pu provoquer les agressions des tribus précitées et rechercher les moyens les plus propres à assurer l'ordre et la sécurité sur les lieux.

Cette proposition d'enquête serait, nous l'en espérons, soutenue par le Cabinet de St. James, et nous nous en remettons, d'ailleurs, à vous du soin de traiter la question avec toute l'importance qu'elle mérite.

Nous nous proposons de charger votre collègue de Paris de s'énoncer dans ce même ordre d'idées auprès de M. St. Hilaire. Mais avant de lui transmettre cette autorisation, nous désirerons connaître l'avis du Cabinet Britannique sur notre suggestion.

J'attends avec impatience le résultat de vos démarches.

## No. 115.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)*

(No. 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 27, 1881.*

FRENCH correspondents first received news of invasion. After they had telegraphed it French office refused all messages. The Bey was obliged to charter a steamer for Marsala, by which I telegraphed. English newspapers are apparently intercepted by the French post. The French are incessantly urging the Bey to solve all difficulties by admitting the Protectorate.

His Highness and his Minister are much alarmed at the apparent indifference of the Great Powers as well as for their own personal security. I am anxious to learn what answer I should make to their repeated appeals as to England's wishes in the matter of the Protectorate. The Bey hopes he may rely on England to protect his person, in case of unforeseen complications.

Public excitement increases, and I respectfully urge the immediate appearance of an English ship of war, especially as a second French vessel has arrived. The Bey yesterday appealed directly to the Sultan and all the other Powers parties to the Berlin Treaty.

I beg that a telegraphic reply may be sent to me by way of Malta, with instructions that it may be forwarded on to Tunis.

## No. 116.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28, 3 P.M.)*

(No. 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 28, 1881, 1.10 P.M.*

THE fortress and town of Keff occupied by French troops yesterday. Great consternation. Many families leaving the country. I am obliged to telegraph by way of Malta.

## No. 117.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 405.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, April 28, 1881.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 380 of the 25th instant, and I approve the manner in which your Excellency has carried out the instructions contained in my despatch No. 390 of the 23rd instant, in your communications with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, in regard to events now taking place in Tunis, and the question of sending British ships of war for the protection of British life and property should such a step eventually become necessary.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 118.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29.)*

(No. 395.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 28, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, telegrams from the Tunisian Expedition which have been received at the War Department here.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## Inclosure in No. 118.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of April 28, 1881.*

LE Ministre de la Guerre a reçu les télégrammes suivants d'Algérie:—

"Le Général commandant le Corps Expéditionnaire à M. le Ministre de la Guerre, Paris.

("Extrait.)

*"La Calle, le 27 Avril, 1881, 5 h. 25, matin.*

"Après sommation de recevoir nos troupes dans le délai de deux heures, et sur refus du Gouverneur, le bordj Djedid de Tabarea a été canonné et démantelé hier soir. Le débarquement des troupes devait avoir lieu ce matin, mais l'état de la mer n'a permis d'occuper que l'îlot de Tabarque. Le Commandant de l'expédition espérait pouvoir débarquer ce soir; je n'ai pas de rapport de lui à ce sujet. La brigade Ritter avec laquelle marchait M. le Général Delebecque a dû franchir ce matin le col nord du Djebel Addida pour se rabattre à l'est dans la Vallée de l'Oued Djenan. Le rapport de cette brigade ne m'est pas arrivé."

*"Général Logeret à Guerre.*

*"Kef, le 27 Avril, 1881, 8 h. 17, matin.*

"Le Gouverneur de Kef m'a ouvert hier, à 11 heures et demie, les portes de la place, mais au dernier moment et lorsque toutes les dispositions pour l'attaque étaient prises.

"Les troupes de ma colonne devant occuper le Kef et se composant d'un bataillon, une division de cavalerie, deux batteries montées de 90, viennent de prendre possession de la Kasbah et du château.

"Demain, je me mets en route pour rejoindre la Vallée de la Medjerda."

## No. 119.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, April 29.)*

(Communication Confidentielle.)

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 28 Avril, 1881.*

JE viens d'adresser à notre Ambassadeur à Paris le télégramme ci-après:—

"Je m'empresse de vous communiquer ci-après le télégramme que le Pacha de Tunis vient d'adresser à son Altesse le Premier Ministre:—

"J'ai télégraphié hier à votre Altesse lui annonçant l'entrée des troupes Françaises sur le territoire Tunisien du côté des Kroumirs et d'un autre côté, menaçant la forteresse dont elles ne sont plus éloignées aujourd'hui que de 9 kilom. Le bruit persiste que de Kef elles veulent se diriger sur Tunis pour nous forcer à accepter le Protectorat. J'ai toujours le ferme espoir que la Sublime Porte prendra d'urgence les mesures nécessaires en faveur de la Régence pour écarter les difficultés."

"Je ne saurais assez insister sur le fait que les droits de la Sublime Porte, que le Gouvernement Français semble aujourd'hui vouloir contester, sont consacrés par des titres historiques et par les faits eux-mêmes qui se sont succédés sans interruption.

"Pour ne citer que quelques exemples à cet égard, il est de notoriété publique que les Consuls des Puissances à Tunis reçoivent leurs exequatur de la Sublime Porte et que les Conventions spéciales locales portent pour condition expresse que les Traités conclus avec



l'Empire doivent être également exécutoires en Tunis. Ceci seul suffit pour établir nos droits incontestables sur cette province.

"Pour donner une solution à la question de Tunis, nous proposons de la soumettre aux autres Puissances, ou bien de nous entendre là-dessus directement avec la France. Nous espérons fermement que le Gouvernement de la République Française n'aura aucune intention d'exercer une pression quelconque sur le Gouverneur-Général de Tunis pour lui faire accepter son Protectorat.

"Je vous invite à soumettre immédiatement ce qui précède à son Excellence M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire."

Vous voudrez bien vous énoncer dans le sens qui précède auprès de son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et me faire part de l'impression que produira cette communication.

## No. 120.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29.)*

(No. 32 ?.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 28, 1881.*

SINCE the 8th instant, as expressed in my telegram No. 19 and despatch No. 35 of the same day, and in subsequent telegrams, the presence in Tunis of one or more ships of war for protection of Christians [?] has appeared to me very necessary. I still think so.

All foreigners residing in the Regency have, in the meanwhile, been exposed to considerable danger. Owing, however, to the remarkable energy and foresight of the Bey's Government, the calamities of a Mussulman rising have, till now, been averted.

Many families have left the country, and were it not for the prejudicial effect which such a step would have on the whole community, I should have, ere this, sent my own family away.

It has been my constant object to submit to your Lordship that, so long as no invasion of territory took place, tranquillity would prevail, but that the French military expedition, especially as now carried out, may at any moment entail insurrection and wholesale massacre.

## No. 121.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29.)*

(No. 33.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 28, 1881.*

INTELLIGENCE just received from Sy Ali Bey's camp is to the effect that there was hard fighting on the 26th instant between an advancing column of French troops and the Hamirs, the latter having been vigorously attacked without provocation.

The fighting lasted the greater part of the day. Both sides, especially the French, [several groups wrong] suffered heavily.

At the same time a French squadron of six ships bombarded the ruined forts of Tabarca, killing many of the Bey's soldiers and some inhabitants of a neighbouring village.

This act of hostility against the Bey's flag and troops, manifestly exceeding the programme of mere punishment of the Hamirs, has excited here profound and very general indignation.

The French are moving in the direction of Begia, and declare they mean to occupy Bizerta.

The Bey is already openly accused of selling Tunis to the French, and his brother's camp has accordingly been deserted by almost all the irregular troops. His Highness' personal safety is now in the greatest danger, as an Arab rising is apprehended.

The security of all foreigners here is in like manner seriously imperilled, the absence at this particular juncture of ships of war of friendly Powers being regarded as a virtual and tacit acquiescence in the French invasion of the country.

The Bey has himself told me confidentially that, in case of urgent necessity, he would rely on me for his personal security.

Under these circumstances, I respectfully reiterate my suggestion that some ships of war may be ordered to these waters.

Petitions to a similar effect have been addressed to me by British subjects at the out-ports.

## No. 122.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 215.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, April 29, 1881.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 213, endeavour to ascertain whether it is true that any impediment is offered to transmission of telegrams from Tunis.

## No. 123.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29, 4 P.M.)*

(No. 33.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 29, 1881, 10.29 A.M.*

A FRENCH column, 7,000 or 8,000 strong, arrived yesterday at Souk-el-Arba, a station on the French railway.

An engagement with the neighbouring tribes is expected.

Sy Ali Bey, whose situation had been very embarrassing and critical, has contrived to withdraw from the Hamir district, where the fighting continues.

At the bombardment of the Tabarca forts six Tunisian soldiers were killed. Contrary to the Bey's orders, but inspired by the instinct of self-defence, the fire of the French was returned, and it is said one of the bombarding gun-boats was sunk. The survivors of the small garrison with difficulty escaped.

The general excitement increases with advance of the French troops.

## No. 124.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 29, 10 P.M.)*

(No. 34.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 29, 1881, 2.50 P.M.*

A FRENCH military force, with artillery, is announced to have landed at Maghad, a point of the coast 15 or 20 miles west of Bizerta, and entrenched themselves behind earthworks hastily constructed. The speedy capture of Bizerta is expected.

## No. 125.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 179. Confidential.)  
Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 29, 1881.*

WITH reference to my previous despatches Nos. 167A, 168A, and 171, Confidential, on the subject of the present state of affairs in Tunis, I inclose, for your confidential information, copy of a further telegram from the Italian Government which has been communicated to me by General Menabrea, inquiring what answer Her Majesty's Government propose to return to the appeal made by the Bey for the mediation of the Great Powers between himself and the French Government; and whether they propose to take any action upon it.

In making this communication, General Menabrea repeated that it was the desire of his Government to continue to act in accord with England as they had hitherto done.

I have informed his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will not immediately reply to the Bey's Circular.

I have at the same time remarked that it seems necessary to receive with some caution the information which is forwarded to us from Tunis; that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to inquiries made by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, has declared that it is absolutely without truth that a French fleet has been sent to Tunis, and affirms that the only addition to the French naval force in Tunisian waters is the one iron-clad before Tabarca.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.



*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30.)*

(No. 48.)  
My Lord,

*Tunis, April 23, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day telegraphed to your Lordship a communication to the following effect:—

A proposal to land an armed force and two field-pieces from the French iron-clad at the Goletta, for the alleged purpose of protecting the European colony in this city, was this morning made by M. Roustan to the Bey, and declined by the latter.

His Highness took occasion to renew his protestations against any violation of the territory under his rule. There is no necessity or call for M. Roustan's proposal, which, if carried into execution, would be eminently calculated to create agitation among the whole population, and probably lead to a general rising of the Mussulman natives.

The success attending the Bey's operations in the Hamir district is uniform and complete; and, so long as his territory is not invaded by a foreign army, there is no apprehension felt in the Regency as to the possibility or likelihood of any serious disturbance.

I have received your Lordship's telegram No. 17.

My telegram No. 23 appears to have been erroneously marked 33.

To my inquiries about the missing No. 22 I can obtain no satisfactory explanation.

My despatch No. 41 of the 15th is an extension of it.

The way in which telegrams are delayed, mutilated, or suppressed altogether is a matter of not unfrequent complaint.

It is believed that a telegram dispatched by the correspondent of the "Standard" on the same day as my missing telegram No. 22 was suppressed.

On the other hand, I did not myself receive, until the 15th instant, a telegram from the editor of the "Daily News," which was dispatched from London three days previously.

Under these circumstances, I cannot but think that some means of direct communication with Malta or Sicily should be assured to us.

By telegram just received from Constantinople, the Sultan reiterates his entire approval of the Bey's action, and informs him that he has entered into negotiations with the Great Powers for the protection of his own rights and those of the Bey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30.)*

(No. 393. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 27, 1881.*

WITH reference to telegrams which your Lordship did me the honour to send to me yesterday, I have to report that I mentioned to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire this afternoon that it had been stated to Her Majesty's Government that the French fleet in the Golfe Juan was under orders to go to Goletta.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire desired me to inform your Lordship that this statement was absolutely false, and that no French fleet was about to be sent to Tunisian water.

His Excellency added that the only addition to the French naval force in those waters was the iron-clad which was before Tabarca, and he proceeded to repeat the statement he made to me the day before yesterday that he was entirely averse to any increase of the French naval force near Tunis, lest it should afford a pretext for the appearance of the fleets of other Powers there.

I mentioned to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that Her Majesty's Government were sending a dispatch-boat to Tunis on account of the uncertainty of the maintenance of telegraphic communication with that place.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles, from which it appears that the French fleet is lying at Toulon fully coaled and provisioned, and ready to leave at a moment's notice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

*Consul Mark to Lord Lyons.*

My Lord,

*Marseilles, April 25, 1881.*

SINCE I last had the honour to address your Lordship on the 21st instant, troops have been continually arriving at Marseilles and Toulon from different parts of the country, about 3,000 of which have embarked for Algeria, the greater part leaving in packet-ships, of which class of vessels there is a very large supply belonging to the port. The fleet is still lying at Toulon, fully coaled and provisioned, and ready to leave at a moment's notice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. W. MARK.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30.)*

(No. 401.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 29, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship Colonel Brackenbury's Report No. 34 on the subject of the Tunis Expedition and the concentration of a "reserve brigade" at Nîmes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 34.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 29, 1881.*

SINCE I last had the honour of addressing your Excellency on the subject of the Tunis Expedition, official information has been published of the landing of a detachment on the mainland opposite the Island of Tabarka, of the occupation of Kef by General Logerot's column, the bulk of which has now marched from Kef on Beja, and of the advance of the brigades Vincendon-Galland-Ritter across the frontier into the Kroumir territory.

As orders have now been issued from the Ministry of War to allow all latitude to correspondents of newspapers, it will not, I assume, be necessary for me to continue to report upon the progress of the campaign.

Your Excellency will have observed that, though the composition of the columns in the field has been published in the newspapers, I have not yet received the official information on the subject long since promised me at the Ministry of War.

I have ascertained that a force of all arms, called a "reserve brigade," but really much larger than that term would imply, is being concentrated at Nîmes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30.)*

(No. 34 sic.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, April 29, 1881.*

MORE than three-fourths of the British subjects reside in this city and the Goletta. I humbly submit that the presence of ships of war and consequent fear of bombardment would most probably deter Arabs from rising, as in case of insurrection of 1864, and would in case of urgent need afford refuge.



No. 130.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30.)*(No. 35.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Tunis, April 29, 1881.*

THE report of the capture of Keff by French troops, although originating from private and confidential sources, and generally believed, has not been officially confirmed.

No. 131.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30.)*(No. 36.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Tunis, April 29, 1881.*

THE landing reported in my telegram No. 35 [*sic*] appears to have been effected nearer Tabarca than Bizerta and at about 50 miles from the latter place. The first official report appears to have been widely credited [?].

No. 132.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received April 30.)*(No. 41.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Paris, April 30, 1881.*

FRENCH telegraph official affirms that there is now no interruption of telegraphic communication with Tunis.

I am sending a telegram to Mr. Reade to test this.

No. 133.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 20.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, April 30, 1881.*

YOUR telegram No. 33 of the 28th instant.

A ship of war will be ordered to proceed to Tunis at once; but you will understand that her mission is to protect Europeans from danger arising from anarchy.

You must therefore make no promise to the Bey, but you may give him an asylum in case of absolute necessity.

No. 134.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*(No. 322.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, April 30, 1881.*

I HAVE to inform you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the tone of your Excellency's remarks to Saïd Pasha, when his Highness, in referring to the Tunisian question, appealed to the friendship of England, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 300 of the 19th instant.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 135.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*(No. 323.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, April 30, 1881.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 299 of the 19th instant, reporting the interview which took place between you and the Sultan relative to the present difficulty in Tunis,

and I entirely approve the language held by your Excellency to His Majesty on that occasion, and the advice which you subsequently gave to Saïd Pasha on the subject.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 136.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 26. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, April 30, 1881.*

Sir,

IN consequence of the urgent representations which you have made of the necessity of the dispatch of a ship of war to Tunisian waters for the protection of the British residents at the capital, I have communicated on the subject with the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and they have ordered Her Majesty's ship "Monarch" to proceed to the Goletta.

You will, however, understand that the object of her mission is solely to protect Europeans whose position may be endangered in the event of a state of anarchy arising. But her presence will not entitle you to make any promise to the Bey, although you may offer His Highness an asylum in case of absolute necessity.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 137.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 217.)

*Foreign Office, April 30, 1881.*

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to Mr. Reade's telegram of the 28th, inform French Government that repeated communications from Tunis respecting the danger to Europeans from anarchy at the present moment oblige Her Majesty's Government to send a ship of war to Tunis, but that only one vessel will be sent, in order not to exceed the number the French have in those waters.

No. 138.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 419 A. Extender.)

*Foreign Office, April 30, 1881.*

My Lord,

I HAVE already communicated to your Excellency Mr. Reade's telegraphic despatch of the 28th instant, reporting the intelligence received from Sy Ali Bey's camp of the operations of the French troops against the Hamirs, and of the bombardment of Tabarca, with other details.

Mr. Reade also refers to the danger which threatens the security of all foreigners in Tunis, and to the absence of any ships of war of friendly Powers.

With reference to Mr. Reade's Report I have to request that you will inform the French Government that repeated communications from Tunis respecting the danger to Europeans from anarchy at the present moment, necessitate Her Majesty's Government sending a ship of war to Tunis; but that only one vessel will be sent, in order not to exceed the number which the French have in the waters of Tunis.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 139.

*Sir C. Dilke to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 30, 1881.*

HER Majesty's Agent at Tunis having reported that the proceedings of the French are likely to bring about a state of anarchy in the country which may be dangerous to the

European residents, I am directed by Earl Granville to request that you will move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to cause immediate orders to be given for the dispatch of Her Majesty's ship "Thunderer" to Tunis, to be used as a refuge in case of necessity.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) CHARLES W. DILKE.

No. 140.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 1.)*

THE Secretary of the Admiralty presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and begs to inform him that, in accordance with the requisition contained in the Foreign Office letter of the 30th ultimo, orders have been sent by telegraph to Malta to "send 'Monarch' to Tunis to assist British and other European residents, if necessary, and report occurrences."

It will be observed that the "Monarch" has been ordered to Tunis and not the "Thunderer," as was requested.

Admiralty, May 1, 1881.

No. 141.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 1, 4.15 P.M.)*

(No. 42.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 1, 1881, 2.30 P.M.

YOUR telegram of yesterday No. 217.

I have told French Minister for Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty's Government are sending a ship of war to Tunis. He says that his own accounts are reassuring, but that he understands the responsibility with regard to British subjects which must be felt by Her Majesty's Government.

He repeats that the second iron-clad is gone to Tunis only to relieve the iron-clad already stationed there, and that only one will stay. (See my despatch No. 380 of the 25th.)

He does not know positively whether the third iron-clad (that which was at Tabarca) is still in Tunis waters.

No. 142.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 1, 10.25 P.M.)*

(No. 37.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, May 1, 1881, 1.30 P.M.

THREE French iron-clad frigates and a gun-boat have arrived at Bizerta.

No. 143.

*Lord Tenterden to Musurus Pasha.*

Dear Musurus Pasha,

Foreign Office, May 1, 1881.

LORD GRANVILLE requests me to tell you, in reply to the communication from your Government made to him on the 28th ultimo, that Her Majesty's Government do not feel called upon to give any opinion upon the proposal in question, which appears to be superseded by the course of events.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 144.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)*

(No. 49.)  
My Lord,

Tunis, April 25, 1881.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 26 of the 23rd instant, informing your Lordship of a proposal made by M. Roustan to land an armed force from the iron-clad "Jeanne d'Arc," for the alleged protection of the European colony in this city, and of the Bey's reply thereto, I have the honour to herewith transmit a copy of two communications which have passed between M. Roustan and the Bey relatively to this matter, as well as a copy of a Circular which my French colleague has addressed on the same subject to all the foreign Representatives here.

I feel it my duty to call the serious attention of your Lordship to the preposterous nature of M. Roustan's proposal. Not only would the execution of it bring about a rising of the native population, but the force in question would be manifestly inadequate to protect a town extending over several square miles and surrounded by numerous forts.

In his Circular letter to his foreign colleagues, M. Roustan represents the Bey as declining responsibility for what may happen in the actual state of affairs, but it will be seen from His Highness' reply that it is only in the event of his territory being invaded by a foreign army that he is not prepared to assume such responsibility.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 144.

*Memorandum of M. Roustan's Instructions to the Interpreter of the French Mission, communicated to the Tunisian Government on the 23rd April, 1881.*

LES nouvelles déclarations du Bey à M. Roustan et au Corps Consulaire ont augmenté l'inquiétude que les premières avaient déjà causé dans la population. Son Altesse proteste bien de sa ferme intention de maintenir l'ordre, mais elle ajoute qu'elle ne pourra plus en répondre du moment où la répression des Kroumirs aura commencé.

Devant la crainte aussi manifestée par Son Altesse, M. Roustan l'informe qu'il est prêt à mettre à sa disposition la compagnie de débarquement de la frégate Française en rade avec deux canons, ce qui est une force plus que suffisante pour maintenir l'ordre dans le quartier Européen et le protéger. Mais comme nous sommes et voulons rester en paix avec le Bey, ce débarquement ne pourrait avoir lieu que sur la demande expresse de Son Altesse.

Demander une réponse immédiate et en cas de refus, déclarer que nous en prenons acte.

Inclosure 2 in No. 144.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

(Traduction.)

NOTRE Premier Ministre a porté à notre connaissance la communication qui lui a été faite en votre nom par M. Summaripa. Il s'agit d'un surcroît d'inquiétude produit sur la population pour sa sécurité par les nouvelles déclarations faites par nous à vous et aux autres Représentants des Puissances amies, et que cette inquiétude serait dissipée au moyen du débarquement d'une compagnie de soldats de la frégate Française en rade de la Goulette avec deux canons pour Tunis; que cette mesure rassurerait les étrangers, mais qu'elle ne peut être effectuée que sur une demande de nous, parce que, Dieu merci, nous sommes en état de paix avec votre Gouvernement et que celui-ci veut continuer à rester en paix avec nous; que néanmoins, si nous répondions à cette proposition par un refus vous en prendriez acte.

Nous devons vous remercier et exprimer notre gratitude à votre Gouvernement pour la déclaration qui vient de nous être faite de sa volonté de continuer de rester en paix avec nous. Nous vous sommes reconnaissants aussi pour votre sollicitude pour nous et pour la sécurité de la population et dont vous nous avez donné une preuve par votre proposition actuelle. Mais, nous avons le regret de ne pouvoir accepter cette proposition, parce que le résultat serait le contraire de l'objet pour lequel elle a été faite et parce qu'elle serait un aveu de notre part de notre impuissance à maintenir l'ordre, ce qui serait contraire à la



vérité. Vous êtes témoin que rien, Dieu merci, n'est venu justifier les inquiétudes de la population et que l'ordre règne partout.

L'interprétation donnée à nos déclarations est en opposition avec ces déclarations mêmes. Nous avons, en effet, déclaré à vous et à vos honorables collègues que nous garantissons l'ordre et la tranquillité publique, tant que les choses continueront à suivre leur cours normal; que nous continuerons à déployer tous nos efforts et à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour la sécurité publique en toute circonstance. Nous vous répétons, cependant, qu'en cas d'une invasion de notre territoire par les troupes Françaises, sur un point quelconque de la Régence, nous pourrions nous trouver en présence d'un soulèvement général qui gagnerait toute la Régence, et qu'en dépit de tous les efforts que nous ne cesserons de faire, nous serions dans l'impossibilité d'empêcher. C'est là le point que nous avons voulu signaler et pour lequel nous avons décliné toute responsabilité.

Nous aimons encore à espérer que le Gouvernement de la République voudra bien prendre tout cela en sérieuse considération et penser à tous les dangers et aux périls communs que pourrait faire naître une invasion de notre territoire. Nous avons l'espoir qu'il voudra bien, alors, nous accorder la demande que nous lui avons faite de régler à nous seul l'affaire des Kroumirs, à laquelle nous donnerons une solution qui pourra le satisfaire et qui nous fera atteindre le but que nous nous proposons des deux côtés.

*Ecrit le 24 Jouma-el-Oula, 1298 (April 23, 1881).*

Inclosure 3 in No. 144.

*Circular addressed by M. Roustan to the Diplomatic and Consular Corps at Tunis.*

*Tunis, le 23 Avril, 1881.*

LE Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de la République Française, a l'honneur de porter ce qui suit à la connaissance de MM. les Représentants des Puissances Etrangères à Tunis:—

En présence des déclarations renouvelées par le Bey dans la dernière communication au Corps Consulaire et des alarmes plus vives qu'elles ont causées dans la population, le Soussigné s'est fait un devoir d'informer Son Altesse qu'il était prêt à mettre à sa disposition la compagnie de débarquement de la frégate Française la "Jeanne d'Arc," actuellement en rade de la Goulette, avec deux canons, force très suffisante pour maintenir l'ordre dans le quartier Européen, et le protéger contre une agression. Le Soussigné a seulement ajouté que ce débarquement ne pourrait avoir lieu que sur la demande expresse du Bey.

Le Bey ayant, ce matin même, décliné formellement ces offres, le Soussigné prend acte de ce refus, et s'empresse d'en informer ses collègues. Ils en concluront sans doute comme lui, que les inquiétudes qu'éprouvait le Gouvernement Tunisien pour le maintien de l'ordre sont moins grandes que celles qu'il manifeste, ou bien que ce Gouvernement s'est déterminé à accepter dans les éventualités la responsabilité qu'il a essayé de décliner jusqu'à présent.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

No. 145.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)*

(No. 405. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Paris, April 30, 1881.*

IN answer to your Lordship's telegraphic inquiry of yesterday, I have to report that I am informed by the French Telegraph office that there is now no impediment to telegraphic communication between Paris and Tunis.

In order to test this by experiment, I have dispatched a telegram to Mr. Reade, containing a request to him to answer by telegraph.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 146.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)*

(No. 409.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 1, 1881.*

AT noon to-day, in execution of your Lordship's telegraphic instruction of yesterday, I mentioned to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that the repeated communications from Tunis respecting the danger to Europeans at the present moment from anarchy obliged Her Majesty's Government to send a ship of war to that place.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that it was only natural that Her Majesty's Government should feel bound to take precautions for the safety of British subjects, in consideration of the alarming reports which would seem to have been made to them.

His Excellency went on to say that, on the other hand, the accounts which he himself had recently received were very reassuring. He also remarked that large ships could only lie at a considerable distance from the city of Tunis, and could not be of much service in case of any sudden outbreak.

I suggested that, nevertheless, a state of things might arise at Tunis in which a ship of war would at least be useful as a refuge for British subjects and other Europeans.

I proceeded to observe that Her Majesty's Government proposed to send only one ship to Tunis, in order not to exceed the number of ships of war which the French had there.

In answer to a question from me, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire repeated what he had said to me on the 25th instant as to the amount of the French naval force in Tunisian waters.

There was, he said, one French iron-clad regularly stationed at Tunis. The ship thus stationed there, the "Jeanne d'Arc," required repairs and was to come home, and the "Reine Blanche," a ship of the same class, had gone to relieve her, but only one was to stay.

I asked M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire what had become of the third iron-clad, that which he had subsequently mentioned to me as being before Tabarca. He answered that he did not know positively whether this ship was or was not still in Tunisian waters.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 147.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)*

(No. 410.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 1, 1881.*

WITH your despatch No. 415 of yesterday, your Lordship has been so good as to send me a copy of a letter, marked "personnelle," which appears to have been addressed, also yesterday, by General Menabrea to Sir Julian Pauncefote.

In this letter General Menabrea, speaking of French proceedings in Tunis, writes as follows:—

"Quoique j'ai lieu de croire que les craintes qu'on manifeste sur les intentions futures du Gouvernement Français puisqu'elles seraient contraires aux déclarations explicites faites à Lord Lyons par M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, &c. &c."

I do not know to what declarations General Menabrea alludes in this passage.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 148.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 2.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 30 Avril, 1881.*

JE vous transmets ci-après, pour votre information, le télégramme responsif que son Altesse le Premier Ministre vient d'adresser à Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis pour lui faire certaines recommandations exigées par les circonstances:—

FC 403/21

ALTY WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE  
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

"Son Altesse le Premier Ministre à Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis.

"Le 28 Avril, 1881.

"Reçu télégramme du 27.

"Les mesures nécessaires ont été prises et seront prises encore.

"Les relations amicales existant entre le Gouvernement Impérial et la République Française, jointes aux déclarations faites par M. Grévy à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté quant au but de l'expédition, rendent impossible que la France veuille s'engager dans une entreprise telle que l'établissement d'un Protectorat sur la Province de Tunis, partie intégrante de l'Empire. Mais, si, ainsi que votre Altesse en a été prévenue, une proposition dans ce sens venait à se produire, il n'y aurait qu'à la repousser, en y opposant une fin de non recevoir. Votre Altesse voudra bien ajouter qu'on doit s'adresser à la Sublime Porte.

"Je prie votre Altesse de déployer les plus grands efforts pour maintenir l'ordre et la tranquillité publique de façon à ne fournir à personne des sujets de plainte ni d'observation. Il faut surtout poursuivre les mesures de répression adoptées par votre Altesse contre les tribus dont les actes ont servi de motif à l'entrée en Tunis des troupes Françaises."

No. 149.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 2.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 30 Avril, 1881.

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer ci-après à votre Excellence copie du télégramme adressé hier à la Sublime Porte par le Pacha de Tunis, et dans lequel son Altesse nous annonce la prise du fort du Kef et de la Baie de Tabarc, contrairement aux déclarations de Sir Charles Dilke au Parlement, déclarations que votre dépêche nous a fait connaître.

Voici la dépêche du Vali :—

"Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"J'avais informé votre Altesse de l'entrée des troupes Françaises sur le territoire Tunisien par deux points. Les nouvelles d'aujourd'hui annoncent qu'ils ont pris possession de la forteresse de Kef qui n'a aucune connexion avec le pays des Kroumirs, et qu'ils ont commencé à combattre ces derniers avec du canon. D'autre part, les navires Français embossés sous Tabarc ont commencé à bombarder le fort. Tout cela prouve que leur action ne consiste pas à se limiter au seul châtimement des Kroumirs. Le nombre des navires Français dans les eaux Tunisiennes est de dix, dont sept à Tabarc et trois à la Goulette.

"Je prie votre Altesse d'aviser aux moyens de sauver la Régence avec toute la promptitude possible. Votre Altesse voudra bien nous faire connaître la ligne de conduite à suivre, en nous télégraphiant jusqu'à Malte et de Malte à Tunis par la poste; car le télégraphe à Tunis est exclusivement employé par les Français.

"J'ai envoyé à votre Altesse un duplicata de ce télégramme par voie d'Italie. Après le télégramme de votre Altesse du 24 Avril, je n'ai reçu aucune communication."

(Signé)

"MOHAMMED-ES-SADOK."

No. 150.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2, 4.35 A.M.)*

(No. 38.)

(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, May 1, 1881, 6.49 P.M.

THE French Admiral this morning notified to the Governor of Bizerta his intention to take possession of town and bombard it if he met with any opposition.

The Governor applied for instructions, and I understand the place was shortly afterwards occupied without opposition.

Sy Ali Bey reports that three Arab tribes of the plain were attacked yesterday by a French military force in consequence of their not complying with requisitions for horses and corn. The men defended themselves, but were indiscriminately cut down. Women, children, and wounded prisoners are said not to have been spared, and horrors of an inhuman character have been perpetrated. The conduct of this Government and people under

these trying circumstances is admirable, but the limits of their endurance may be passed. The prevailing excitement is intense. Extraordinary pressure is now put on the Bey to accept Protectorate and other conditions. The Minister has hourly visits from French emissaries.

My counsel would probably prevent the Bey's yielding, but without instructions from your Lordship I of course abstain from any action.

No. 151.

*Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received May 2.)*

(No. 44. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

Rome, May 2, 1881.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 258, Italian Government have received similar information from Tunis. They appear most anxious to act with caution, and to adhere strictly to the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government. Count Maffei has therefore requested me to ascertain from Admiral Seymour the name and date of sailing of the vessel ordered to Tunis. Identical instructions as to protection of subjects will be sent to Italian Consul.

I have telegraphed to Admiral, but shall await your Lordship's permission to communicate answer.

No. 152.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 2, 1881, 6.15 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 38 of yesterday.

I approve your reserve.

No. 153.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 27. Extender.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 2, 1881.

I HAVE received your telegram No. 38 of yesterday, informing me of the pressure which is being brought to bear upon the Bey in order to induce him to accept a French Protectorate, and I approve your having abstained from giving His Highness any advice on this question.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 154.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 420.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 2, 1881.

HER Majesty's Government have received information that three French iron-clad frigates and a gun-boat have arrived at Bizerta.

In your Excellency's despatch No. 409 of the 1st instant, however, you state, in reporting a conversation which you had had with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, the French Minister repeated what he had already stated to your Excellency on the 25th ultimo, that there was one French iron-clad regularly stationed at Tunis, the "Jeanne d'Arc," which required repairs and was to go home; and that the "Reine Blanche," a ship of the same class, had gone to relieve her, but that only one was to stay; and M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire added, in reply to your Excellency's inquiry as to what had become of the third iron-clad which he had mentioned as being before Tabarca, that he did not know positively whether this ship was, or was not, still in Tunisien waters.

Your Excellency will perceive that the intimation as to the movements of French ships which has now reached Her Majesty's Government is scarcely consistent with the



explanations given to your Excellency by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire on this and previous occasions; and I have to request that your Excellency will endeavour to obtain further information as to the actual state of affairs in this respect.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 155.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)*

(No. 50.)

My Lord,

Tunis, April 25, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to report that I, this day, forwarded to your Lordship a telegram to the following effect:—

No. 27. The Tunisian territory has been invaded by French troops—one column marching upon Keff and another operating in the Hamir district.

The disembarkation of an armed force is threatened at Tabarca, where there are six French ships of war assembled.

Much excitement prevails.

The lives of all Europeans will be imperilled by any further advance of French troops.

It is hoped that, under these circumstances, some of Her Majesty's ships may be ordered to Tunis without delay.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 156.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)*

(No. 51.)

My Lord,

Tunis, April 26, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of an address which I have received from the British colony at this place.

While endorsing completely the declarations contained in the Memorial as to the Tunisian Government, I feel a peculiar pleasure in submitting it to your Lordship, under the severe trial to which our ancient and faithful ally, the Bey of Tunis, is being subjected.

A similar address has, I understand, been presented to His Majesty the King of Italy, on behalf of the numerous and important Italian colony.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure in No. 156.

*Memorial addressed by British subjects residing at Tunis to Mr. Reade; presented on the 23rd April, 1881.*

M. l'Agent et Consul-Général,

Tunis, le 8 Avril, 1881.

UNE partie de la presse Européenne paraît depuis quelque temps avoir pris à tâche de formuler chaque jour une nouvelle imputation contre Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis, ses n tres, et son Gouvernement.

Les égards qu'à tant de titres ils doivent à Son Altesse ne permettent pas aux Soussignés d'assister d'une manière passive à un tel état de choses, et de sanctionner presque par leur silence la messéance des procédés qu'on emploie vis-à-vis d'un Prince ami, dans le pays auquel ils ont toujours joui de la plus cordiale hospitalité.

Les Soussignés, sujets Anglais domiciliés depuis longtemps en cette ville, vous prient donc, M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, de vouloir bien transmettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine copie de la présente Déclaration, en témoignage du profond regret qu'ils éprouvent de toutes les accusations offensantes qu'on se permet depuis quelque temps contre Son Altesse le Bey, ses Ministres, et son Gouvernement.

Les Soussignés tiennent, M. l'Agent et Consul-Général à déclarer de la manière la plus formelle que toujours et en toute circonstance les intérêts Européens en Tunisie, soit commerciaux ou de toute autre espèce, ont été protégés et favorisés par la bienveillance

constante du Gouvernement de Son Altesse, et que ce serait faire preuve d'une réelle injustice ou de la plus complète ignorance des choses que d'avancer le contraire.

Les Soussignés saisissent avec empressement cette occasion, M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, pour vous remercier de la manière efficace dont vous protégez leurs intérêts en ayant à cœur de maintenir les excellents rapports entre le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine et celui de Son Altesse le Bey.

Avec le plus profond respect, les Soussignés, &c.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 157.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)*

(No. 52.)

My Lord,

Tunis, April 26, 1881.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 27 of yesterday, reporting the invasion of Tunisian territory by French troops, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy, with which I have been furnished by the Tunisian Foreign Office, of the protest the Bey has addressed to M. Roustan against the breach of international law which, he clearly points out, has been committed to his prejudice and to that of his Suzerain the Sultan.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure in No. 157.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

(Traduction.)

LE Général Réchid, Gouverneur du Kef, nous a informé qu'hier les troupes Françaises campées à Sakiat-Sidi-Youssef ont franchi les frontières et sont arrivées à Ouadi Allagh, dans le territoire de la tribu de Charen, menaçant par là la ville du Kef. D'autre part, le Gouverneur de Béja nous a informé qu'une colonne de troupes Françaises a franchi également la frontière et a campé à Ain Ismaïl, au milieu des tentes de la faction des Jouaïlia, de la tribu des Kroumirs.

L'entrée de ces troupes sur le territoire Tunisien, notamment du côté du Kef, sans avis préalable, et pendant que nous sommes en état de paix et en relations d'amitié avec le Gouvernement de la République, est un acte contraire à toutes les règles du droit des gens. Nous nous trouvons dans la nécessité de protester contre cet acte insolite dans les rapports internationaux.

Cette protestation nous la faisons en notre nom et au nom de l'Empire Ottoman, dont la Tunisie fait partie intégrante, nous l'adressons également aux autres Puissances amies. Nous rendons également votre Gouvernement responsable de toutes les conséquences qui pourraient résulter de ce fait.

Nous vous prions de nous accuser réception de la présente protestation.

Érit le 26 Joumada-el-Oula, 1298 (25 Avril, 1881).

No. 158.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)*

(No. 53.)

My Lord,

Tunis, April 27, 1881.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 52 of yesterday's date, inclosing a copy of the protest which the Bey has addressed to M. Roustan against the violation of his own and the Sultan's rights involved in the invasion of the Tunisian territory by French troops, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of M. Roustan's reply to that protest, as communicated to me by the Bey's Government.

Your Lordship will not fail to observe the manner in which M. Roustan avoids the material issues raised by the Bey in his various communications, and persists in ignoring His Highness's assurances that he is perfectly able to give every satisfaction to France without an invasion of his territory.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

*M. Roustan to the Bey of Tunis.*

*Tunis, le 26 Avril, 1881.*

Monseigneur,

J'AI reçu la lettre que votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date d'hier, au sujet de l'entrée, par deux points de la frontière, des troupes Françaises chargées de châtier les Kroumirs et d'empêcher le renouvellement des agressions commises, dans ces derniers temps, par cette tribu sur le territoire de la République en Algérie.

J'ai vu avec autant de peine que de surprise que votre Altesse considérât l'entrée de ces troupes comme ayant eu lieu sans avis préalable et comme constituant, en l'état de paix qui existe entre les deux Gouvernements, un acte contraire à toutes les règles du droit des gens.

Votre Altesse me permettra, en effet, de lui rappeler que cette opération militaire lui a été annoncée en premier lieu par ma lettre du 7 Avril, qui lui transmet copie d'une dépêche de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères l'invitant à nous prêter main-forte dans cette œuvre de répression nécessaire et l'informant que nos Généraux avaient reçu à cet effet l'ordre de s'entendre, dans ce but, avec les Commandants des troupes Tunisiennes.

Cette déclaration a été confirmée par ma lettre du 9 Avril, dans laquelle, répondant aux observations que votre Altesse m'avait chargée de transmettre à mon Gouvernement, je lui faisais savoir que celui-ci se trouvait dans l'impossibilité de modifier les dispositions déjà prises qui lui étaient commandées par la gravité exceptionnelle des événements de la frontière.

Le 15 Avril j'avais l'honneur d'informer votre Altesse que, malgré le refus réitéré qu'elle avait opposé à ma demande de coopération militaire, mon Gouvernement persistait à croire qu'une action énergique était indispensable pour assurer la sécurité de son territoire.

Le 17 Avril, j'ai écrit à votre Altesse pour lui donner avis que mon Gouvernement se voyait dans l'obligation de venger l'insulte faite à notre pavillon à Tabarque, où il avait été accueilli à coups de fusil.

Enfin, le 20 Avril je faisais savoir à votre Altesse qu'en présence de ses déclarations et de celles de son Premier Ministre, tendant à décliner la responsabilité des désordres qui pourraient se produire dans le cas où les troupes Françaises entreraient sur le territoire de la Régence, mon Gouvernement se voyait dans l'obligation de tenir le Bey et son Ministre personnellement et exclusivement responsables du moindre mal qui arriverait à nos nationaux ou aux autres étrangers. Par la même communication, j'informais votre Altesse que j'étais chargé de la prier de retirer ses troupes de Tabarque, afin d'éviter tout conflit entre elle et le corps de débarquement qui devait se porter sur ce point, et cela conformément à la promesse que j'avais reçu de la bouche de votre Altesse, de faire retirer ses troupes devant les nôtres dans le cas où elles entreraient sur le territoire Tunisien.

Je crois avoir répondu suffisamment au reproche portant sur l'absence d'avis préalable concernant l'entrée de nos troupes. Quant à celui d'avoir agi contrairement au droit des gens vis-à-vis d'un Gouvernement avec lequel nous étions en paix et en relations d'amitié, je n'ai qu'à me référer aux déclarations contenues dans la dépêche de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères en date du 6 Avril, que j'ai placée sous les yeux de votre Altesse et qu'elle a communiquée à mes collègues. Cette dépêche, en renouvelant les assurances des bons rapports que nous désirons conserver avec votre Altesse, indiquait, comme bases de nos opérations militaires, le territoire de La Calle et la Vallée de la Medjerda, à laquelle, nos troupes accèdent en ce moment par la Vallée de l'Oued Mellègue. J'espère que, par ce résumé fidèle de mes communications antérieures, votre Altesse sera convaincue que le Gouvernement de la République, tout en maintenant énergiquement ses droits à agir avec ses propres forces contre les tribus insoumises qui désolent notre frontière, n'a jamais eu l'intention de porter atteinte aux bonnes relations entre les deux pays et que, par conséquent, la protestation formulée dans la lettre de votre Altesse n'a pas des raisons d'être.

Quant aux conséquences qui peuvent résulter de nos opérations militaires et dont votre Altesse persiste à décliner la responsabilité, j'ai déjà eu occasion de m'expliquer catégoriquement à cet égard. Si votre Altesse se trouve dans l'impuissance de maintenir l'ordre à Tunis, je lui offre de nouveau de lui venir en aide à cet effet, si elle veut bien m'autoriser à faire débarquer les troupes et l'artillerie que le stationnaire Français peut mettre à sa disposition.

J'ai, &c.  
(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)*

(No. 54.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 27, 1881.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 29 of this day, reporting the capture of Kef by French troops, and the consequent agitation that exists throughout the country, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the greatest confusion and consternation prevail at the Bey's Palace.

I have credible information that a rising of the tribes is extremely probable, and, if this takes place, it may place in imminent peril the whole of the Bey's army, the Bey himself and his Minister, as well as the European colony.

Under these most trying circumstances, I venture to hope your Lordship will give me instructions by telegraph.

The Bey and his Minister ask whether England is prepared to afford them a refuge, in case of need, on board a ship of war, and I trust your Lordship will allow me to reassure them on this point.

I have just learnt that General Forgemol, in a letter to Sy Ali Bey, declares that the French troops have entered the country, with the Bey's consent. Such a statement needs no comment on my part, but it seems to indicate some assurance entirely contrary to fact has been given by France to the Bey's allies.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

P.S.—Since writing the above, a copy of General Forgemol's letter to Sy Ali Bey has reached me from the Bardo, and I beg to herewith inclose it.

T. F. R.

Inclosure in No. 159.

*General Forgemol to Sidi Ali Bey.*

(Translation.)

NOUS avons reçu une seconde lettre de votre Altesse à laquelle nous vous avons répondu.

Nous faisons savoir à votre Altesse que nos troupes sont entrées sur le territoire Tunisien d'après un accord avec Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis, ainsi que nous en avons été informés par son Excellence le Ministre de la Guerre en France. D'après ce même accord il faut que les troupes Tunisiennes nous laissent libres les passages qui pénètrent dans les pays de nos ennemis que nous sommes venus châtier, et qu'elles se retirent sur les positions que nous leur indiquerons au moment du besoin.

Ecrit le 27 Joumada-el-Oula, 1298 (26 Avril, 1881).

Le Général Commandant la Division de Constantine,  
Commandant-en-chef des troupes Françaises,  
(Signé) L. FORGEMOL.

No. 160.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)*

(No. 56.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 27, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship two cypher telegrams, of which the purport was as follows:—

No. 29. French troops occupied yesterday the town and fortress of Kef. There is very general consternation, many families leaving the country.

The alleged interruption of telegraphic communication with Europe obliges me to transmit this Report by way of Malta.

No. 30. Although generally believed, the report emanating from private sources that Kef has been occupied by French troops has not been confirmed officially.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

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## No. 161.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 3.)*

(No. 414.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 2, 1881.*

THE following notice appears in the Paris newspapers this morning:—

"M. le Ministre de la Marine a reçu la dépêche suivante:—

*"Bizerte, le 1<sup>er</sup> Mai, 1881.*

"Les troupes de débarquement de l'escadre occupent les forts de Bizerte."

The newspapers also publish the following unofficial telegram:—

*"Tunis, le 1<sup>er</sup> Mai, 1881.*

"Les troupes de débarquement de l'escadre viennent de prendre possession des forts de Bizerte. Elles vont marcher à la rencontre des troupes du Général Logerot. Le pays des Kroumirs va donc être cerné de toutes parts.

"Rien dans l'expédition Tunisienne n'a été laissé au hasard. Les différents mouvements des colonnes qui opèrent au nord, à l'ouest, au sud, et qui bientôt doivent opérer également à l'est, devaient se coordonner suivant un plan préconçu, et ils ont été opérés avec précision, juste au temps voulu."

Bizerta is about 45 miles from Tunis, and there are, I understand, no intervening obstacles to the advance of troops from it to the capital.

The accounts published do not give any information as to what vessels formed the squadron from which the French troops were landed.

With reference to my despatch No. 409 of yesterday, I may mention that newspaper telegrams dated the day before yesterday state that the "Reine Blanche" has been recalled to Bône; that an English dispatch-boat had arrived at the Goletta that morning, and that an Italian gun-boat, the "Cariddi" (thirty-five men and five guns), had arrived at the Goletta in the night.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## No. 162.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.\**

(No. 421.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, May 3, 1881.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a letter from the Admiralty, stating that orders have been telegraphed to Malta to send the "Monarch" to Tunis.†

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 163.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.—(Received at the Foreign Office, May 4.)*

(No. 35.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 3, 1881.*

I CALLED to-day upon the Chef du Cabinet of the Minister of War, and asked him if he would inform me of the strength of the force which is to operate from Bizerta. He said that it would consist of six battalions of infantry, two mountain batteries, and a squadron of cavalry, being rather weaker than the other brigades forming part of the army in Tunis. Such a brigade would represent a strength of about 3,000 men.

Colonel Richard volunteered the statement that this force has been landed at Bizerta in order to complete the circle of troops surrounding the Kroumirs, and that it would march westwards with that object.

Your Excellency is aware that I have from the first (see my despatches No. 24 of the

\* Also to Sir A. Paget (No. 184).

† No. 140.

8th ultimo, No. 30 of the 17th ultimo, and No. 31 of the 22nd ultimo) anticipated the probability of a French force being dispatched to Bizerta, as that position affords a base either for operations against the Kroumirs from the east, or for putting pressure on the Bey of Tunis, should that from political motives be desired.

Indeed, if the French Government wishes to coerce the Bey, without apparently departing from the limits of an expedition against the Kroumirs, the advance of a force from Bizerta is the best measure it could adopt, because, whether for a march upon Tunis itself, or for effecting a junction with the right of General Logerot's column at Beja, the first objective point of a force operating from Bizerta would be the station of El-Djedeida on the Ghardimaou-Tunis Railway, only 15 miles distant from the city of Tunis.

The transports "Sarthe" and "Dryade," which conveyed the troops to Bizerta, sailed with sealed orders from Toulon, it being given out publicly that they were conveying reinforcements to Bône.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

## No. 164.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated confidentially to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 4.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 3 Mai, 1881.*

DANS un entretien qu'il vient d'avoir avec M. de Giers, son Excellence Chakir Pasha a reçu l'assurance que la Russie ne manquerait pas de s'associer à toute démarche que l'Angleterre ou l'Italie feraient dans le but de soumettre aux Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin la solution du différend Tunisien.

Je vous prie d'aller voir sans retard Lord Granville pour l'entretenir de ce qui précède et tâcher d'obtenir que son Excellence veuille bien prendre l'initiative d'une proposition qui est sûre de rencontrer l'appui du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg.

## No. 165.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 4.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 3 Mai, 1881.*

SON Altesse le Pacha de Tunis vient d'adresser à son Altesse le Premier Ministre un télégramme dont voici la traduction:—

"J'apprends à l'instant que les troupes Françaises se sont emparées de Bizerte. Que l'invasion ait pour but la conquête de cette province, c'est un fait inattaquable et hors de doute.

"Je prie votre Altesse de prendre d'urgence, à l'arrivée de mon télégramme, les mesures nécessaires pour parer au danger où je me trouve; je n'ai plus d'autre espoir que Dieu et votre Altesse."

## No. 166.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 4.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 3 Mai, 1881.*

MES différentes dépêches vous ont successivement mis au courant de l'état actuel des choses à Tunis, et du point de vue auquel nous avons toujours envisagé cette question. Un simple incident local se traduisant par l'agression de quelques tribus Berbères du côté de l'Algérie, agression que les autorités Tunisiennes s'étaient dès l'origine déclarées prêtes à châtier, a pourtant, à notre grande surprise, amené une expédition de troupes considérables Françaises en Tunis; il résulte, en effet, des dernières informations transmises à la Sublime Porte par le Pacha de Tunis, que les troupes Françaises s'avancent de plus en plus dans l'intérieur du pays après s'être emparées de plusieurs points fortifiés, et qu'elles sont déjà parvenues à une distance de 100 milles du centre de la province.

Son Altesse pense qu'un mouvement militaire aussi important et une marche aussi rapide à travers la province, malgré la déclaration de la France de ne poursuivre aucune idée de conquête, déclaration dont nous avons pris acte, semblent pourtant dénoter l'un ou

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l'autre des trois projets suivants : ou la prise de possession, ou l'occupation, ou bien le Protectorat de la Tunisie. En présence d'une situation dont la gravité ne saurait échapper à l'attention de personne, Son Altesse et la population nous demandent elles-mêmes plus que jamais l'exercice des droits souverains immémoriaux et incontestables de la Sublime Porte pour venir à leur aide et protéger la province qui fait partie intégrante de l'Empire.

Forts de nos droits et pénétrés de nos devoirs envers cette intéressante population, sujette de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, nous avons proposé en dernier lieu aux Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin de nous entendre, soit avec elles, soit directement avec la France, pour arriver à une solution qui soit de nature à satisfaire aux griefs du Gouvernement de la République.

Cet appel reste jusqu'à ce jour sans réponse, et nous nous voyons placés devant la question de savoir si les Puissances devraient, à l'encontre de leurs sentiments de justice et d'équité, persister dans une attitude passive à cette occasion.

Quant à nous qui ne saurions voir d'un œil indifférent les événements qui se passent dans une partie des possessions de notre Auguste Maître, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de nous demander si la justice immuable, qui a toujours servi de guide aux Cabinets Européens dans tous leurs actes, voudraient aujourd'hui se retrancher derrière un laisser-faire, en face du droit du plus fort. Il nous serait pénible de devoir nous vouer à une idée pareille dont la réalisation amènerait la plus profonde perturbation de la paix générale, désirée à égal titre par la Sublime Porte et les Puissances, et dès lors une commotion des plus graves de l'état des choses en Orient.

Nous avons donc le ferme espoir que notre appel sera entendu par les Gouvernements Signataires du Traité de Berlin, qui garantissent solennellement les intérêts vitaux de l'Empire Ottoman, et qu'ils voudront bien donner suite à notre proposition d'une entente franche et conciliante, laquelle pourrait amener l'apaisement du conflit en Tunisie à la satisfaction de tous et d'une manière conforme au désir du Gouvernement Français.

Veuillez communiquer cette dépêche à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

No. 167.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 184 A.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 4, 1881.*

THE Italian Ambassador said to me to-day that his Government felt that there was much difficulty in their bringing forward any proposal with regard to the state of affairs in Tunis, but that if Her Majesty's Government were disposed to take any steps with the view of bringing about a general understanding on the subject the Italian Government would be ready to cordially co-operate.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 168.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 334.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 4, 1881.*

THE Turkish Ambassador told me to-day that he had been informed by his Government that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople had informed the Porte that his Government would be ready to join with the British and Italian Governments in endeavouring to come to some understanding with the Porte and with the French Government respecting the affairs of Tunis.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 169.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Wyndham.*

(No. 184.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 4, 1881.*

THE Russian Ambassador spoke to me to-day with regard to the proceedings of the French in Tunis. He said that he was instructed by his Government to state that they wished to ascertain the views of Her Majesty's Government, with whom they would be glad to act as far as possible in unison.

I replied that Her Majesty's Government were anxious not to give an exaggerated importance to the affair; they were making inquiries at Paris in order to learn precisely what was the actual situation; they had no jealousy of any legitimate influence of France in Tunis so long as it did not clash with the rights secured to Great Britain by Treaty and was not exercised in a manner injurious to the interests of British subjects.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 170.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 5.)*

(Confidential.)

Sir,

*Admiralty, May 5, 1881.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated the 4th instant, No. 1, from Captain Tryon, of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch."

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 170.

*Captain Tryon to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.)

"MONARCH" arrived at Tunis on the 2nd May.

*Goletta, May 4, 1881.*

No. 171.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)*

(No. 57. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 28, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day cyphered to your Lordship two telegrams, of which the following is the purport:—

No. 31. In my telegram No. 19 of the 8th instant, and despatch No. 35, as well as in subsequent telegrams, I ventured to express my opinion that the presence of one or more of Her Majesty's ships in the Tunisian waters appeared to me very necessary. Since the above date, I have had no reason to alter that opinion, and I cannot help thinking that the danger to which all foreigners residing in the Regency have been exposed in the meanwhile has been considerable. That no rising of the Mussulman population has taken place is due to the remarkable energy and foresight of the Bey's Government.

Many families have left the country, and, if I have not ere this sent my own away, it is because I did not wish to take a step which would have increased the prevailing alarm. I have submitted to your Lordship that the public tranquillity was assured so long only as there was no invasion of the country; but that otherwise, and especially under the circumstances with which the French military expedition is being carried out, insurrection and possible massacre may at any moment ensue.

No. 32. It is reported from the camp of Sy Ali Bey that the Hamirs were on the 26th instant attacked in their own district by an advancing column of French troops, and that a severe fight ensued, which lasted the greater part of the day, both sides suffering heavily, but more particularly the French, who moved in serried masses.

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The partially ruined forts of Tabarca were, on the same day, vigorously bombarded by a French squadron of six ships. Many of the Bey's soldiers, and some inhabitants of a neighbouring village were killed. A feeling of profound and very general indignation has been excited here by this act of hostility against the Bey's flag, which manifestly exceeds the programme of simply punishing the Hamirs.

A large French force is marching in the direction of Begia, and it is publicly declared that their intention is to occupy also Bizerta.

Most of the irregular troops attached to Sy Ali Bey's camp have deserted, and the Bey (Mohammed Sadek) is himself openly accused of selling Tunis to the French.

An Arab rising being apprehended, the Bey's personal security, as well as that of all foreigners in the country, are seriously imperilled.

The absence, at this particular juncture, of ships of war of friendly Powers is regarded here as a virtual and tacit acquiescence in French military movements.

I have been confidentially informed by the Bey that, in case of urgent necessity, he would rely on me for his personal security.

I beg, under these circumstances, to reiterate my suggestion that some ships of war may be ordered to proceed to Tunis.

British subjects residing at the outposts have addressed me petitions to a similar effect.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 172.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)*

(No. 58.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 29, 1881.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 31 of yesterday, I am desirous of explaining to your Lordship that my views as to the state of alarm and actual danger in this city are correct, and that, if nothing has up to this time occurred, it is chiefly owing to the excellent police regulations of His Highness the Bey, as well as to a very prevalent idea that the Great Powers, and more especially England, would, sooner or later, intervene. This idea arises entirely from an old friendship manifested on many occasions towards this country, but I have most studiously maintained an attitude of complete reserve, according to your Lordship's instructions, and avoided holding out any kind of promise or hopes.

I have peculiar means of knowing the state of feeling in the country. As long as no invasion took place nothing could be apprehended, but now the French are actually in the country and exterminating the Hamirs, the whole of the Arab tribes accuse the Bey of having deceived them in accord with the French, and of having induced the Hamirs to submit by false pretences.

The Arabs are arming in all directions, and the slightest irritation could kindle a rising of the most terrible description, which might extend to Tripoli and Algeria, and even further.

I cannot ignore the vast sales of gunpowder and arms which are hourly taking place, and have felt it my duty to warn Her Majesty's Government of possible eventualities.

I do my best to calm apprehension, especially in my answers to constant messages from the Agents in outlying districts, and in my communications with the townfolk, who are reassured by the presence of my family here.

The Bey and his Minister would be the first objects of attack, as they are believed to have sold Tunis to the French, and, once the Government is overturned, massacres may occur before any aid could reach us.

I hope my anxiety to avoid a catastrophe which could have no remedy will be an excuse for what may have seemed unwarrantable pertinacity and needless alarm.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 173.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)*

(No. 59. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, April 28, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship telegrams to the following effect:—

No. 33. It is reported that a column of French troops, 7,000 or 8,000 strong, reached Souk-el-Arba (a station of the Bône-Guelma Railway), about 120 miles from this city. It is apprehended that this force will come into collision with some of the Arab tribes of that neighbourhood.

Fighting continues in the Hamir district, and Sy Ali Bey, whose situation had become most embarrassing and critical, has, after much difficulty, succeeded in withdrawing from it.

It appears that the number of Tunisian soldiers killed at the bombardment of the Tabarca forts is six. Inspired by the instinct of self-defence, but contrarily to the Bey's orders, the fire of the ships was returned, and, it is said, a gun-boat of the attacking force was sunk. The survivors of the small garrison escaped with difficulty.

Proportionately with the advance of the French troops, the general excitement increases.

No. 34. Of the entire number of British subjects in this Regency, more than three-fourths reside in this city and at the Goletta.

The presence of ships of war and fear of bombardment would, I humbly submit, have the effect of deterring Arabs from rising, as was the case on the occasion of the insurrection of 1864, and, in case of urgent necessity, the ships would, I presume, afford refuge.

No. 35. It is reported that a French military force disembarked yesterday at a point of the coast 15 or 20 miles to the west of Bizerta. Artillery was landed at the same time, and earthworks thrown up, behind which the above force entrenched themselves.

The capture of Bizerta is hourly expected.

No. 36. Later intelligence shows that the landing which was reported in my telegram No. 35 took place nearer Tabarca than Bizerta, and 50 miles distant from the latter place. The first official Report was, it appears, wrongly interpreted.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 174.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)*

(No. 431.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 5, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, a Report received by the Minister of War from the Tunisian expedition.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

*Inclosure in No. 174.*

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of May 5, 1881.*

*Paris, le 4 Mai, 1881.*

LE Ministre de la Guerre a reçu la dépêche suivante:—

*"Le Général Forgemol au Ministre de la Guerre.*

*"Roum-el-Souk, le 3 Mai, 1881, 9 h. 10, soir.*

"Les nouvelles reçues de Tabarque sont satisfaisantes. L'état sanitaire des troupes y est bon. Les Ouled Amor et Ravaissia ont obtenu l'aman. Le service de correspondance par terre avec La Calle est installé; un marche est organisé. Le Général Logerot est toujours à Souk-el-Arba, où il a reçu d'assez nombreuses soumissions. La brigade Gaume a dû opérer aujourd'hui une reconnaissance sur Fernana. Le Général Logerot fait diriger

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sur Gardimaou, où se trouve le Général de Brem, la batterie de 90 revenue du Kef à Soukaras. Quelques inquiétudes se sont produites au Kef au sujet de l'attitude que des renseignements indigènes prêtent à la tribu des Fréchiches. D'après un récent rapport du Commandant supérieur de Tébessa, ces craintes ne seraient pas fondées. Les troupes que j'ai vu arriver ce matin au camp des Djouablen sont dans les meilleures conditions. Aucune inquiétude de la situation des esprits dans la division de Constantine."

No. 175.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)*

(No. 432.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 5, 1881.

I HAD yesterday a conversation of some length with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire on the state of affairs regarding Tunis.

I observed to him that it seemed that no less a naval force than three iron-clads and a gun-boat had appeared at Bizerta, and that men landed from them had taken possession of the place. All these ships were, I said, in excess of the number of vessels which he had mentioned to me as forming the whole French naval force in Tunisian waters.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that these ships had gone to Bizerta for a temporary purpose, and had, he presumed, already left that place. He added that he would inquire of the Minister of Marine exactly how the matter stood, and let me know.

The occupation of Bizerta and the landing of a force there were, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire went on to say, necessary for the military operations against the Kroumirs. It would require an expenditure of at least 100,000,000 fr. (4,000,000l.) to form a harbour at Bizerta. The French Government had certainly no intention to undertake any work of the kind; but, of course, if at some future time a French private Company should consider that the formation of a harbour there would be a lucrative undertaking, the French Government would not oppose the attempt being made as a private enterprise.

I said that his Excellency had no doubt observed that in answer to a question put in the House of Commons respecting Bizerta, Sir Charles Dilke had stated that the permanent occupation of that place would be quite outside the statement which his Excellency had made to me of the objects of the French expedition to Tunis. I proceeded to remind him that what he had stated to me was, that the objects of the expedition were to chastize the lawless tribes, to insure the permanent establishment of order on the frontier, to settle outstanding claims, and to take effectual securities against Tunis being used by any foreign Power as a means of disturbing the French rule in Algeria.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire replied that the French Government had certainly no intention of annexing either Bizerta or any other part of Tunis. The military operations would, he thought, be ere long brought to a conclusion, and the time would then come for negotiating with the Bey respecting the future position of the Regency with regard to France. The exact terms which would be proposed to the Bey had not yet been settled. They would depend in part upon the attitude of the Bey when the time came for treating; but in any case they must be such as to secure to France predominant influence.

I said that a statement of terms, some of which were of a very remarkable character, had been affirmed in the English newspaper, the "Daily News" of the 2nd instant, to have been made by M. Roustan at Tunis.

I observed that, as the article had been copied into the French newspapers, it had probably attracted his Excellency's attention, and I proceeded to recite some of the more extraordinary of the terms mentioned in it.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire did not give a specific contradiction to any of the particulars I quoted. He contented himself with saying in general terms that there could not possibly be any foundation for the statement, as the French Government itself was not yet in a position to decide what the terms would be.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire concluded by formally and distinctly authorizing me to assure your Lordship that no idea of conquest or annexation entered into the intentions of the French Government with regard to Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 176.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6.)*

(No. 433. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 5, 1881.

IN the course of conversation yesterday, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire spoke with some bitterness of the proceedings of Italian officials with regard to the newspaper "Mouskatel," published in Arabic at Cagliari.

He adverted to the accounts which have appeared in the newspapers of revelations respecting the connection of M. Maccio, the Italian Consul at Tunis, with this paper, made by a Syrian, whose name is given as Zain-Zain.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that the participation of M. Maccio in the attacks made in the "Mouskatel" against France was indisputable, and that the evident object of the paper was to stir up the French subjects in Algeria to insurrection. This he certainly thought constituted even a *casus belli*, if France chose to take it so.

The Syrian was, his Excellency added, now at Paris, and was occupied in common with some of his countrymen, in editing a newspaper in the Arabic language, in order to convey true sentiments respecting France to the natives of Algeria and Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 177.

*The Bey of Tunis to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6, 4:35 A.M.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Le 5 Mai, 1881.

JE confirme à votre Excellence mon télégramme en date du 26 Avril informant votre Excellence de l'invasion de la Régence par les troupes de la République Française accomplie dans des circonstances contraires aux droits des gens et contre laquelle j'ai solennellement protesté en mon nom et en celui de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan. Le Gouvernement de la République avait déclaré aussi bien aux Cabinets Européens qu'à moi-même que ses intentions se limitaient exclusivement au châtimement des Kroumirs pour des prétendus méfaits qu'ils auraient commis sur la frontière Algérienne, châtimement du reste auquel nous n'avons jamais consenti. Malgré nos protestations et malgré les déclarations explicites du Gouvernement de la République, les troupes Françaises ont occupé notre ville du Kef: une colonne Française marche maintenant sur Beja: les forts de Tabarque ont été détruits, et leur place occupée: d'autres tribus, étrangères aux Kroumirs, ont été attaquées: une garnison Française occupe actuellement le port de Bizerte, sur la forteresse de laquelle le drapeau Français flotte aujourd'hui. Je ne sais pas quelles autres mesures sont décidées au sujet des autres localités de la Régence. Je prends de nouveau à témoignage le Représentant même de Sa Majesté la Reine pour certifier des efforts déployés par moi pour donner toutes les satisfactions possibles au Gouvernement Français au sujet des Kroumirs, qui s'étaient entièrement soumis à notre autorité, et de la tranquillité publique que j'ai maintenue jusqu'à ce jour sur tous points du territoire. Il m'est impossible de prévoir les désastres qui vont fondre sur la Régence si l'invasion continue. Par suite de ces circonstances je place mon propre sort, ainsi que les destinées de la Régence, entre les mains de votre Excellence et celles de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, implorant, au nom de l'humanité et en qualité d'ancien allié de votre Gouvernement, avec lequel j'ai toujours conservé des relations non interrompues, l'aide de votre Excellence, pour qu'elle adopte telle mesure de médiation urgente qui puisse arrêter les horreurs de la guerre qui dévaste en ce moment la Régence, arriver à une décision commune des Gouvernements pour assurer l'avenir de ce pays, et régler les réclamations que le Gouvernement de la République aurait à formuler contre mon Gouvernement.

—MOHAMMED ES SADEK.



No. 178.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 6.)*

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Admiralty, May 6, 1881.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to request that you will inform Earl Granville that a telegram has been received from Captain Tryon, of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," dated 6th instant, from Tunis, reporting that all is quiet, and that he had received the telegrams sent to him in cypher on the 2nd instant, with Lord Granville's approval.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

No. 179.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 434.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 6, 1881.

I HAVE been informed by the Lords of the Admiralty that Her Majesty's ship "Monarch" arrived at Tunis on the 2nd May. A copy of a letter from the Admiralty is also inclosed relative to a further communication received from Captain Tryon, in command of that vessel.\*

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 180.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 6, 11.45 P.M.)*

(No. 39.)

(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, May 6, 1881, 3.45 P.M.

SEVERAL Arab tribes of the interior are reported to have revolted against the Bey in consequence of the excesses which, it is very generally alleged, were committed by French troops in their attack upon the Shekhaas [*sic*] some days ago.

Letters written with the blood of women and infants killed on that occasion are said to have reached the authorities appealing for assistance, and, no notice being taken of them, the revolt broke out. The Bey is making every effort to regain his lost authority over the insurgent tribes, and I shall report the results.

Disembarkation of troops at Bizerta continues. Force already there reported at [? 7,000].

No. 181.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 7.)*

(No. 436.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 6, 1881.

IN your despatch No. 420 of the 2nd instant, your Lordship, referring to conversations on the subject which had taken place between M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and me, desired me to endeavour to obtain further information as to the actual state of affairs in respect to the French naval force in Tunisian waters.

Your Lordship will have learnt, from my despatch No. 432 of yesterday, that I had the day before spoken again to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire of this matter, but it is evident that his Excellency is not always in possession of complete and recent information respecting it.

It is, in fact, difficult to say with certainty what ships belonging to the French navy are in Tunisian waters at any given moment. The changes are frequent and are easily made. The Algerian ports of Bône and La Calle are so near that ships are available for operations against Tunis at very short notice, independently of any that may be actually at any given time in Tunisian waters.

According to the best information I could obtain from unofficial sources there were

\* No. 178.

probably, on the 3rd instant, the day before I last spoke to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, two iron-clads and three unarmoured vessels in Tunisian waters, while two other iron-clads were available for service in those waters at twenty-four hours notice.

It is, moreover, to be remembered that the fleet at Toulon is kept fully coaled and provisioned, and ready to go to sea at any moment.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 182.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 7.)*

(No. 437.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 6, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, a Report received by the Minister of War from the Tunisian Expedition.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 182.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of May 6, 1881.*

Paris, le 5 Mai, 1881.

\* LE Ministre de la Guerre a reçu la dépêche suivante:—

*"Le Général Forgemol au Ministre de la Guerre.**"Roum-el-Souk, le 4 Mai, 1881, 10 h. soir.*

"Le mauvais temps de la nuit dernière ne m'a permis de mettre les troupes en mouvement qu'à 9 heures et demie du matin. Les brigades Gerder et Galland sont, ce soir, à Zaouia-Sidi-Yousef avec leurs convois; elles ont fait vers le Djebel-Sidi-Abdalla-Bou-Djenel des reconnaissances qui ont constaté de grandes difficultés de terrain et la présence de contingents hostiles assez nombreux.

"Demain, les trois brigades seront réunies à Fed-el-Manaet et combineront leurs opérations contre les Kroumirs. D'après les reconnaissances faites sur Fernana, il n'y aurait de ce point à Souk-el-Arba que 18 kilom. Le Général Logerot pourra donc être demain soir à Fernana.

"Rien de changé dans la situation du Général de Brem.

"La colonne de Si-Selim est à 4 kilom. de Béja. Celle de Ali Bey est à Doued-Ferja, contrairement aux promesses faites au Général Logerot de faire suivre à ces deux colonnes la route de Testour et de Medjez-el-Bab. Ce manque de parole a été signalé à M. Roustan.

"Il est notoire que les Agents du Bey continuent à exciter les populations contre nous.

"Rien à signaler du Kef. A Tabarque, l'arrivée annoncée d'un navire citerne assurera les besoins de la garnison en eau potable. Les Sellouls, qui ont demandé et obtenu l'aman, ont commencé le versement de leurs armes."

No. 183.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 7.)*

E

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Le 26 Avril, 1881.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-joint, pour votre information, la traduction d'un Rapport adressé à la Sublime Porte par Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis, et qui rend compte des circonstances au milieu desquelles a surgi le dernier différend.

Quant à la correspondance annexée à cette lettre, la plus grande partie en a été publiée, par les journaux Français, et reproduite par toute la presse Européenne. Je me réserve



toutefois, de communiquer à votre Excellence, après confrontation, ceux des documents qui n'ont pas été livrés à la publicité.

Veuillez, &c.  
(Signé) M. ASSIM.

Inclosure in No. 183.

*Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunisie à son Altesse le Premier Ministre.*

(Traduction.)

JE fais tout ce qui m'est possible pour entretenir les meilleurs rapports avec les Consuls des Puissances résidant dans la Province de Tunis. Dans toutes les affaires qui ne touchent pas aux droits de la Sublime Porte sur cette province ni aux miens, je mets un soin particulier à éviter toute cause de mésintelligence avec le Corps Consulaire.

La Tunisie jouit, avec l'aide de Dieu, de la plus grande tranquillité et d'un repos parfait. Les étrangers qui habitent le pays sont admis indistinctement, personne ne pourrait le nier, à la jouissance des bénéfices assurés au sujets de Sa Majesté, soit sous le rapport commercial, soit sous le rapport de la possession des immeubles, d'après la faculté qui leur en est laissée. Malgré tout cela, nous avons à nous occuper depuis quelque temps de faits qui donnent naissance à des difficultés.

Je dois citer, entre autres, le cas de la Concession que j'avais précédemment accordée à une Compagnie Anglaise pour la construction d'une ligne ferrée allant de Tunis à Khalk-el-Vadi et de là au port de Tunis. La Compagnie concessionnaire qui avait poursuivi son entreprise pendant quelque temps, a voulu, lorsque les travaux de construction eurent été achevés, vendre la ligne, ainsi que j'en avais prévenu la Sublime Porte à cette époque. La Compagnie Française et la Compagnie Italienne se sont disputé l'achat ; c'est celle-ci qui l'a obtenue.

A la suite de l'échec subi par la Compagnie Française, le Consul de France s'est adressé à moi pour me demander de ne pas reconnaître la validité de l'opération. Je ne pouvais pas suivre la voie indiquée sans me trouver en opposition avec les dispositions des Traités, aussi bien qu'avec les clauses du contrat de Concession et sans faire un acte d'hostilité. J'ai dû décliner la demande. Le Consul de France, contrarié de ce fait, s'est mis à créer des difficultés en attendant le moment favorable pour provoquer des incidents fâcheux.

1. Cet Agent m'a donné, entre autres, un conseil qu'un Mussulman aurait commis une énormité non seulement à exécuter, mais encore à écouter. Quel que puisse être le sort qui nous est réservé, je me fie à Dieu pour repousser l'idée malsaine de nous placer sous le Protectorat Français afin d'être désormais à l'abri de toute préoccupation politique.

Le Consul de France m'a remis un document contenant les conditions de ce Protectorat ; mais j'ai refusé d'accepter, soit la proposition, soit le papier qui m'était présenté, papier sur lequel je n'ai même pas voulu jeter un coup d'œil. Le Consul ayant insisté, je lui ai répondu qu'il m'était impossible d'accueillir, voire même d'écouter, sa proposition. C'est alors qu'en désespoir de cause il s'est mis à formuler les demandes les plus inadmissibles pour l'autorité.

Ainsi, il m'a proposé d'accorder à la Compagnie Française, concessionnaire de la ligne ferrée de Djendouba, l'autorisation de construire une ligne allant de Tunis au littoral et une autre s'étendant jusqu'à la localité dite Bizerto. Si jamais quelqu'un se présentait pour solliciter la concession d'un chemin de fer dans le pays, la demande ne serait pas accordée avant qu'elle ne fût soumise à l'approbation de la dite Compagnie Française. Le Consul m'a proposé en outre, sous la menace d'une expédition militaire et maritime, de lui donner la Concession de la construction d'un port à Tunis. J'ai dû céder sur ce dernier point.

2. Il existe encore un autre incident qui se rattache à la vente des propriétés de Haïreddin Pacha. Parmi ces immeubles il se trouve une ferme connue sous le nom de Néfida. Habitée par diverses tribus Arabes, et contenant quelques villages, elle comprend un vaste terrain. Nombre d'habitants voulant acheter Néfida et ses dépendances ont fait parvenir par écrit leurs offres à Haïreddin Pacha. Mais, comme celui-ci leur a répondu qu'il avait cédé ses immeubles à la "Société Marseillaise," ils ont dû abandonner leur projet.

Sur ces entrefaites, un Anglais nommé Youssouf Levy, qui possède un terrain situé dans les limites de la ferme en question, a formulé par devant le Tribunal du Chéri une demande en revendication du droit de péremption. Acheteur et Chéfi (possesseur du droit de péremption) étant également justiciable des Tribunaux locaux, d'après la loi sur

les propriétés immobilières, l'affaire se réduisait à une question de Chéri, indépendante de l'action du pouvoir administratif.

À en juger par leurs actes et leurs paroles non-équivoques, les Français et leur Consul attribuent la démarche de Youssouf Levy à mon intervention. Il est pourtant à remarquer que cet individu est le sujet d'une Puissance qui a avec la Tunisie une Convention conférant à ses nationaux le droit de posséder les immeubles tout comme les Français. Propriétaire d'un terrain englobé à Néfida et de la voie contiguë qui lui donnent la faculté d'acquérir la ferme par voie de Chéfao, Youssouf Levy connaît parfaitement ce principe (le Chéfi doit payer le prix auquel ont été vendus les terrains sur lesquels il exerce son droit de Chéfao (péremption). L'autorité n'y a aucun intérêt et l'on est mal venu à s'en prendre à elle.

A propos de cette question de péremption, qui, je le répète, n'offre, ni dans le fond ni dans ses conséquences, le moindre intérêt pour l'autorité, les Français ajoutent un grief à tous ceux qu'ils ont inventés : ils prétendent, entre autres, qu'ils ne profitent pas de la propriété immobilière à l'instar des sujets des autres Puissances, et qu'ainsi ils se verraient privés de toute sécurité dans leur commerce, comme dans leurs biens. Rien n'est moins vrai : dans le jugement des affaires contentieuses entre sujets Français et autres sujets étrangers, comme dans le règlement d'autres questions et dans l'exercice du pouvoir qui s'attache à l'autorité, je n'ai jamais cessé d'observer le principe constamment suivi en pareil cas.

3. Par le bruit qu'ils font autour des actes repréhensibles qui se commettent sur les frontières, les Français laissent entrevoir un changement de direction dans leur politique. Ce qui se passe aujourd'hui sur les confins, ne diffère en rien des incidents qu'on a vu de tout temps surgir entre populations voisines et qui ont été vidés suivant le mode en usage chez elles. Malgré cela, la presse Française, notamment les journaux d'Algérie, s'en sont emparés pour diriger les attaques les plus vives contre l'autorité Tunisienne et ses fonctionnaires. Ces feuilles sont allées jusqu'à nous faire des imputations ayant pour objet de représenter la vie et les biens des Français résidant dans cette province comme étant en danger et leurs droits de propriété comme suspendus. Par la prétendue suspension des droits de propriétés et des affaires commerciales, les Français entendent, à mon avis, faire allusion à l'incident de Néfida. Le bruit qu'ils ont fait courir comme quoi le Consul de France aurait été assassiné pourrait être placé dans la même catégorie. Il est à remarquer que les journaux qui ont répandu ce bruit se sont démentis dans la suite. On a répandu encore une nouvelle inexacte d'après laquelle le réfugié Algérien, Mouhammed-el-Guilloti, après avoir été mis aux arrêts à Tunis à la suite des plaintes motivées par ses menées révolutionnaires en Algérie, aurait été relâché et renvoyé dans son pays, où il aurait recommencé l'exécution de ses desseins. Or, depuis le jour où il a été incarcéré, cet individu n'a pas quitté la prison, ainsi que l'a constaté le Délégué envoyé par le Consulat de France.

Pour ce qui est des assertions relatives à l'état peu sûr qui aurait été créé aux Français sur la frontière, elles sont démenties par l'évidence.

Persuadé que votre Altesse a déjà pris connaissance des bruits relatés dans les journaux en question et les dépêches télégraphiques, je me dispense de l'entretenir ici des autres bruits semblables à ceux que j'ai été obligé de mentionner plus haut, bruits qui, repoussés par le bon sens et le Chéri, sont contredits par les faits.

Les Français résidant en Tunisie ont préparé et remis au Consul une adresse dans laquelle ils affirment être privés en Tunisie de la sûreté des personnes, des biens, et du commerce, et déclarent avoir confiance en cet Agent et dans sa politique. Quoique, d'après nos informations, le Consul ait répondu pour la forme aux signataires l'adresse que leurs plaintes étaient exagérées, l'autorité n'a pas jugé convenable de laisser passer sous silence ces plaintes dénuées de tout fondement. J'ai donc adressé au Consul la lettre que j'ai soumise à la Sublime Porte. Bref, rien n'a été négligé pour soulever le Gouvernement Français et l'opinion publique en France contre l'autorité. Après avoir publié par l'organe de la presse les griefs ci-dessus, on s'est aperçu de l'insuffisance de cet expédient pour atteindre le but proposé et on a changé de tactique. On a allégué que des désordres avaient eu lieu de la part des Hamirs, tribu Arabe de Djebel-Badjé et, en y cherchant l'effet de l'état existant entre deux tribus nomades limitrophes, on a crié aux troubles sur la frontière dans le but de s'en faire une arme.

Le vol et d'autres crimes qui rentrent également dans les habitudes des deux tribus se reproduisent périodiquement. Cela est si vrai qu'un grand nombre des tribus nomades de l'Algérie ont franchi souvent et continuent à franchir la frontière pour venir commettre de ce côté leurs exploits. Vu les difficultés qu'il y a à trouver un moyen propre à réconcilier les tribus des deux pays dans de pareilles occurrences, on les laisse vider leurs différends d'après le mode de règlement en usage chez elles. Les incidents survenus l'année passée entre les tribus voisines des deux pays ont été aplanis dans ces conditions.



Tout dernièrement encore, un Tunisien ayant été voler des chevaux en Algérie, est tombé entre les mains des propriétaires qui l'ont tué et décapité. Informée de ce fait, la famille de la victime s'est rendue sur les lieux pour prendre et transporter le corps, ainsi que cela se pratique chez ces tribus. Les Algériens ont fait la remise du corps et les deux tribus se sont réconciliées après que la mère de la victime eût brûlé, à ce qu'on affirme, les effets de deux tentes appartenant à la famille de l'assassin.

L'acte d'agression commis par la tribu des Hamirs sur les frontières de l'Algérie rentre exactement dans la catégorie des faits pouvant s'arranger de cette manière. Mais les journaux et les dépêches télégraphiques ont pris à tâche de grossir l'affaire et n'ont cessé de nous menacer tantôt de l'envoi d'une flotte et tantôt d'une attaque par terre.

Aussitôt que j'ai appris l'existence de quelques troubles à Hamir, je me suis empressé d'envoyer mon Kéhaya avec un certain nombre de cavaliers pour s'enquérir des faits et aviser aux moyens d'empêcher les Hamirs et les tribus voisines de se livrer à des actes d'agression. J'ai expédié aussi aujourd'hui, sous le commandement du Directeur de la Guerre, un corps d'armée, composé de cavaliers et de fantassins. Un autre corps, composé également de cavaliers et de fantassins, se mobilise en ce moment, et sera envoyé toujours dans le même but. Sur ces entrefaites, le Consul m'a fait, par l'entremise de son Drogman, une communication tant verbale qu'écrite, telle qu'elle se trouve consignée dans la lettre ci-annexée en copie, que je lui ai adressée. Je n'ai pas cru devoir, toutefois, modifier ma décision relative à la mobilisation de la colonne que je me propose d'expédier sur les lieux.

J'ai écrit au Consul une lettre pour lui demander de me communiquer par écrit ce qu'il m'a fait dire verbalement. Il m'a envoyé en réponse, d'abord la lettre dont j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre une copie, et puis celle qui porte le No. 5, et à laquelle j'ai répondu par la lettre également ci-annexée.

La lecture de cette correspondance suffit pour dévoiler le but que poursuivent les Français et pour justifier l'autorité des accusations lancées par les colporteurs de nouvelles.

J'écrivais encore cette lettre lorsque j'ai reçu de mon Kéhaya, expédié le premier, une communication annonçant que c'est la tribu Algérienne qui a pris l'initiative de l'attaque, et que l'ordre et la tranquillité règnent dans les montagnes de Badjé et de Rukié.

En transmettant ces détails à votre Altesse pour son information, j'ai l'honneur d'ajouter que la sécurité et le repos sont parfaits dans le Vilayet de Tunis. Seulement, comme les incidents dont il s'agit sont de nature à troubler les esprits, j'ai fait et je continue à faire tous mes efforts pour maintenir l'ordre et la tranquillité publique. Convaincu que votre Altesse fera tout pour le bien de cette province, et encouragé par sa bienveillance particulière pour moi, je la prie de vouloir bien aviser à toutes les dispositions qu'elle jugera à propos pour me soutenir contre les difficultés de la situation.

Veuillez, &c.

No. 184.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 7.)*

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Admiralty, May 6, 1881.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter dated the 3rd instant, which has been received from Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles respecting the shipment of troops and munitions of war from that port and Toulon to Algeria, and the movements of French iron-clads in the Western Mediterranean.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 184.

*Consul Mark to Mr. Swainson.*

(Private.)

Sir,

*Marseilles, May 3, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the embarkation of troops takes place almost daily from Marseilles and Toulon for the coast of Algeria; 30,000 men, infantry, cavalry,

and artillery, have already left these two ports, the larger proportion from Marseilles. These latter embarked on board the packet-ships belonging to this port, the Government finding it every way more expeditious and considerably cheaper to avail itself of the steam-packets than to make use of its own steam-transports at Toulon.

Large shipments of munitions of war and stores of all sorts and sixty pieces of artillery have been shipped, and troops reach Marseilles and Toulon daily from all parts of the country.

The iron-clad "Trident" has arrived at Toulon from Brest, and the iron-clads "Alma" and "Lavalsonnière" have come round from the Atlantic ports, and are now on the coast of Algeria. The "Surveillante," which undertook the bombardment of Tabarca a few days since, has returned to Toulon, where the squadron is lying at anchor and ready for sea at a moment's notice.

The "Amiral Duparré" has been handed over by the Société des Forges et Chantiers to the dockyard authorities at Toulon, where she will be completed and made ready for sea.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. W. MARK.

No. 185.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 7, 6 P.M.)*

(No. 45.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Rome, May 7, 1881, 3.40 P.M.*

ORDERS were sent this morning for one Italian iron-clad to proceed to Tunis.

No. 186.

E

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 440.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, May 7, 1881.*

HER Majesty's Government do not doubt the sincerity of the declarations of the French Government, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 432 of yesterday and previous despatches, that there is no intention on the part of France to annex Tunis or to assume any sovereignty over that Regency, and that all that is desired is to punish the Kroumir tribes for their disorderly and hostile attitude on the Algerian frontier, and to obtain from the Bey sufficient assurances for the future, nor do Her Majesty's Government view with any jealousy the assertion of French influence, so long as it is not exercised in a manner contrary to established Treaty rights or detrimental to the legitimate interests of British subjects.

They cannot, however, conceal from themselves that proceedings of a military nature such as have been instituted by the French, the occupation of Bizerta, and the destruction of the fort at Tabarca, seem to be directed to some object beyond the mere chastisement of disorderly Arab tribes on the frontier, nor can they affect to misunderstand the intimations which have been given to your Excellency by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that although the French Government did not seek to establish a Protectorate, the new Treaty which would be imposed upon the Bey would be in the nature of one.

The Bey of Tunis has appealed to the mediation of the Powers who signed the Treaty of Berlin to bring the warlike operations to a close, arrive at a general decision as to the future of the Regency, and determine any claims which the Government of France may have to prefer against his Government.

The Porte has also addressed Her Majesty's Government, and, as they suppose, the other Powers, respecting its position and duties in regard to Tunis.

Any measures which would affect the existing state of the African provinces on the Mediterranean could not be matter of indifference to the European Powers, many of whom, like Great Britain, have special Treaties with Tunis, entitling them to most-favoured-nation treatment in the Regency, while all would, it is to be presumed, lay claim to such treatment under their Treaties with the Porte.

Her Majesty's Government do not desire to give an exaggerated importance to the question of Tunis in its present aspect, or to make any formal proposal of mediation or good offices unless invited to do so by the French Government as well as by the Bey; but they cannot ignore entirely the appeals addressed to them by His Highness and by the



Porte; still less could they acquiesce tacitly in any arrangements being entered into contrary to their established rights.

Your Excellency will state this to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire in the most friendly language, and will add that if Her Majesty's Government can in any way conduce to an early settlement of the questions at issue between the French Government and the Bey they will be ready to exercise all the influence they may possess in any manner which he may indicate as likely to be useful and acceptable.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 187.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 195.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 7, 1881.*

THE Italian Ambassador read to me to-day a telegraphic despatch from his Government stating their opinion that in view of the rapidity with which events were passing in Tunis it was desirable that Her Majesty's Government should at once take the initiative in bringing about a solution of the Tunisian difficulties, in communication with the other Powers interested, and suggesting that Her Majesty's Government might propose arbitration.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 188.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8, 1:30 P.M.)*

(No. 44.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Paris, May 8, 1881, 11:30 A.M.*

SHALL I give the French Minister for Foreign Affairs a copy of your despatch No. 440 of yesterday about Tunis?

Please answer by telegraph.

No. 189.

*Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8, 3 P.M.)*

(No. 69. Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Berlin, May 8, 1881, 1:40 P.M.*

THE Bey of Tunis has twice telegraphed direct to Prince Bismarck for advice and good offices, but the Chancellor says that the only advice he can give to the Bey is to co-operate cordially with the French, giving them every assistance he can in carrying out the task they have undertaken.

No. 190.

*General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received May 8.)*

(Personnelle.)

M. le Comte,

*Londres, le 8 Mai, 1881.*

J'AI l'honneur d'envoyer à votre Excellence la copie ci-jointe que vous avez désiré avoir, du télégramme que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous communiquer hier, et par lequel mon Gouvernement exprimait l'opinion que, vu la rapidité avec laquelle les événements se développent il semblait opportun que le Cabinet Anglais prenne lui-même, aussitôt que possible, l'initiative de démarches à faire pour amener une solution satisfaisante du différend Tunisien, d'accord avec les Puissances intéressées.

Je joins, en outre, à ce document et à titre de simple renseignement, le résumé des télégrammes adressés à M. Cairoli, dans lesquels M. Maccio, Consul-Général d'Italie à

Tunis, repousse et refute les odieuses accusations que la presse, spécialement la Française, a accumulées contre lui, à propos des événements dont la Tunisie est aujourd'hui le théâtre.

Veillez, &c.  
(Signé) L. F. MENABREA.

Inclosure 1 in No. 190.

*M. Cairoli to General Menabrea.*

(Télégraphique.)

*Le 7 Mai, 1881.*

JE m'empresse de remercier et d'approuver vivement votre Excellence d'avoir bien voulu prendre auprès de Lord Granville, à titre d'idée personnelle, l'initiative d'un *modus procedendi* sur l'affaire Tunisienne.

Il est désormais acquis, depuis les vues échangées entre les deux Cabinets, que nous sommes entièrement d'accord sur le fond de la question, c'est-à-dire pour le maintien du *statu quo* politique et pour la sauvegarde des intérêts matériels respectifs.

Si Lord Granville désirait maintenant connaître ce que nous pensons faire, ayant ce programme pour base, en vue des éventualités qui pourraient se produire en Tunisie et dont la réalisation ne paraît pas si éloignée qu'on se l'imaginait jusqu'ici, je m'empresse de vous communiquer ce qui suit pour lui soumettre nos idées.

Nous tenons à faire ni plus ni moins de ce que l'Angleterre compte faire, en vue de ces mêmes éventualités.

Toutefois, nous ne voulons pas nous effacer ni déclinier une responsabilité que nous acceptons tout entière; mais, pour une foule de raisons qu'il serait oisif de rappeler, il est évident qu'une action diplomatique n'a de chance de succès que si l'initiative est prise par l'Angleterre.

Je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien développer ses considérations pour un arbitrage, cherchant surtout à bien faire ressortir tout ce qu'il y a de conciliant envers la France dans notre démarche, ayant uniquement pour but de résoudre, d'une manière équitable, une question qui émeut profondément l'Italie.

Si les préoccupations sont déjà grandes en présence de l'occupation de Biserte, quelle sera la situation chez nous le jour où l'on recevra la nouvelle d'un débarquement à la Golette?

Voilà une sérieuse éventualité que, dès à présent, nous ne devrions pas perdre de vue.

Inclosure 2 in No. 190.

*M. Cairoli to General Menabrea.*

(Télégraphique.)

*Le 6 Mai, 1881.*

JE m'empresse de vous informer qu'ayant résumé, dans un télégramme adressé à M. Maccio, les accusations portées contre lui par la presse Française, je viens de recevoir en réponse les trois télégrammes suivants, en date du 5 et 6 courant.

Inclosure 3 in No. 190.

*M. Maccio to M. Cairoli.*

(Télégraphique.)

LE nommé Zain-Zain, jadis ouvrier imprimeur Syrien, était revenu dernièrement à Tunis pour retourner dans sa patrie, lorsqu'on fit répandre le bruit qu'il avait fait des révélations importantes relativement au journal Arabe publié à Cagliari. M'étant empressé de le faire appeler pour savoir de quoi il s'agissait, il m'avoua que M. le Comte de Sancy lui avait promis une place chez M. Roustan s'il voulait bien lui dire quels étaient ses rapports avec le "Mostakel." A cette demande, il avait répondu qu'il était toujours dans les bureaux de rédaction de ce journal.

L'ayant interrogé si, comme on le prétendait, il avait été requis de déclarer que les articles publiés par ce journal étaient envoyés par l'interprète du Consulat d'Italie à Tunis, il me répondit négativement, ajoutant, du reste, qu'il n'en savait rien, car il ne se mêlait que de la composition du texte Arabe qui lui était passé par son chef.

Avant-hier, cet individu a été pris au service du Consulat de France.



## Inclosure 4 in No. 190.

M. Maccio to M. Cairoli.

(Télégraphique.)

JE puis donner l'assurance la plus formelle que je n'ai jamais pris part dans la rédaction du journal Arabe de Cagliari, et que tout ce qu'on publie en France à ce sujet est complètement sans fondement; par conséquent, je n'ai à garder aucune réserve relativement à cette feuille périodique, dont je ne me suis jamais occupé à quelque titre que ce soit.

Il y a, en ce moment, à Tunis, un foyer de fausses nouvelles, qui répand toute sorte d'accusations à notre adresse. Tantôt c'est la diffusion du "Mostakel," au sujet duquel j'enverrai un rapport dont la rédaction exige un certain temps pour me rendre compte du contenu de cinquante numéros de ce journal écrits dans une langue qui m'est inconnue; tantôt c'est la pression constante faite par moi sur le Bey, tandis que je m'abstiens de voir Son Altesse; tantôt c'est la nouvelle qu'on a voulu assassiner M. Roustan sur les conseils d'une personne qui a ses grandes et ses petites entrées au Bardo; ce qui renferme une allusion facile à comprendre. Ensuite c'est l'interprète du Consulat de Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie qui se rend déguisé au camp d'Aly Bey; et ainsi de suite.

Je garde, comme j'ai gardé toujours, une réserve si correcte que si votre Excellence, quand on lui signale quelques-unes de ces nouvelles, voudra bien les démentir, même sans m'interpeller, ne risquera jamais de se tromper. Elle peut en donner l'assurance à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Paris.

## Inclosure 5 in No. 190.

M. Maccio to M. Cairoli.

(Télégraphique.)

IL est entièrement sans fondement que l'interprète de ce Consulat-Général ait envoyé en Syrie Zain-Zain, qui n'est qu'un ouvrier imprimeur, pour diriger le "Mostakel," et qu'il lui ait fait parvenir des articles pour le susdit journal. Quant à moi, je déclare que je n'ai jamais connu Zain-Zian avant que les bruits mis en circulation à Tunis m'aient conseillé de le faire appeler.

Les nouvelles publiées par les "Débats" du 30 Avril ont été, comme tant d'autres, fabriquées à Tunis.

## No. 191.

Mr. Macdonell to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9.)

(No. 169.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 2, 1881.

SIGNOR MALVANO, Political Director of the Italian Foreign Office, stated to me yesterday that his Government had received very alarming reports regarding the excitement prevalent in Tunis, in consequence of the progress of the French expedition.

Signor Malvano said that he had learnt that Her Majesty's Government had received similar information, and would now probably send, as a precautionary measure, a man-of-war to the Tunisian coast for the protection of British subjects and interests.

The Italian Government, Signor Malvano added, are most anxious to avoid any step which may awaken the susceptibilities of the French, but at the same time they cannot leave the large Italian colony in Tunis unprotected, and they are therefore determined to act with the greatest caution and prudence, and strictly to follow the course which Her Majesty's Government may deem expedient to pursue for the protection of its subjects and interests in that Regency.

I had, I said, reason to believe that similar information had been received by your Lordship as to the state of affairs in Tunis, and that probably your Lordship might decide to send a vessel to that coast, but I felt certain that, if such were the case, instructions would be given to Her Majesty's Consul-General clearly to understand that the mission of such a vessel should be strictly confined to the protection of Europeans against any danger which may arise from an insurrectionary movement.

Signor Malvano assured me that the Italian Government had no other object in view, which was clearly shown by the desire of the Italian Government to be guided in their action by that of Her Majesty's Government, and that no determination will be taken in

connection with the Tunisian question by Signor Cairoli without previous consultation with your Lordship.

This morning I received a note from Count Maffei, stating that he had heard that one of Her Majesty's ships was about to be sent to Tunis, and he begged that I would ascertain, if possible, from Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, the name of the vessel selected for that duty, and the day appointed for her departure.

I accordingly telegraphed to your Lordship and to the Admiral in the above sense.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

## No. 192.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9.)

(No. 170 A.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 3, 1881.

M. CAIROLI left Rome some days ago for the north of Italy on private affairs. His Excellency is to join the King at Milan, whither His Majesty and the Queen proceed to-night to be present at the opening of the Art and Industrial Exhibition on Thursday the 5th instant.

In the absence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I had an interview this afternoon with Consul Maffei, who, during our short conversation, spoke almost exclusively on Tunisian affairs.

He seemed to be a little disappointed at the Italian Government not having been informed of the name and date of sailing of the ship sent by Her Majesty's Government to Tunis.

On this subject I observed that, although without instructions, I had the impression that Her Majesty's Government thought it advisable to avoid the appearance of anything like combined action with any other Power in the present stage of the Tunisian question. It was open, of course, to any Power, I said, to send a vessel to Tunis to afford protection to its subjects, in the event of a rising and anarchy taking place; but the simultaneous arrival on the scene of ships of war belonging to two different nations might have a very different appearance, and possibly arouse feelings and provoke results which the Italian Government was as much interested as any other in keeping back.

Count Maffei did not dissent from this view, and repeated what has already been reported by Mr. Macdonell, viz., that the Italian Government desired to act with the greatest prudence and caution in this affair, and to be guided by the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

He then went on to speak of the difficulties which it was likely to create for the Government in the Chamber, and of the mistake the French Government were making in arousing a hostile feeling in Italy towards France by the course they were pursuing.

The difficulties alluded to by Count Maffei are incontestable; but I find an increasing opinion, even among Italians not systematically opposed to the present Administration, that they must be considered in some degree due to the restless policy which, more especially in latter times, has been pursued in Tunis by the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and which could hardly fail at last to provoke French interference.

On the other hand, the nation has been encouraged in the idea that any change in the fate of Tunis must necessarily be attended with the gravest consequences, not only to the commercial but to the political interests of Italy; and hence it is not surprising that what is now taking place should produce a deep impression upon the public mind.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

## No. 193.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9.)

(No. 442. Extender.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 8, 1881.

I HAVE this morning had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 440 of yesterday, directing me to make to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a statement respecting the views of Her Majesty's Government on the present position of the Tunisian question.

Thinking that your Lordship may wish that a record of this statement and of the



exact terms of it shall remain in the hands of the French Government, I have ventured to inquire, by telegraph, whether you desire that I should give M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a copy of the despatch.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 194.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9.)*

(No. 443.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 8, 1881.

THE inclosed extract from the "Temps" newspaper of yesterday's date, contains an account, no doubt substantially correct, of a statement respecting the affairs of Tunis made by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, on the 5th instant, to the Budget Committee of the Chamber of Deputies.

According to this account M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire formally denied that diplomatic negotiations had been begun with the Bey, or that there was any foundation whatever for the statements made in some newspapers of the terms that would be demanded.

He declared that France aimed at no conquest, and that he had made this declaration in conversation with the Representatives of foreign Powers, and in several despatches bearing his signature.

He said that the French Government was, nevertheless, determined to obtain from the Bey a Treaty giving all the guarantees which were rightfully claimed by France, whose situation in the Regency was preponderant.

He affirmed that there was no question of injuring in any way the interests which other European Powers might have in the Regency; and that, indeed, these interests would be much better protected when France had established a new order of things at Tunis ("lorsque la France aura établi un nouvel ordre de choses à Tunis").

He stated that the demands of France would be supported by the imposing display of force which had been made on the frontier, and which had been completed by the occupation of Bizerta.

He mentioned that the Italian Government repudiated all connection with the newspaper "Moustakel" published in Arabic at Cagliari.

Lastly, according to the account given in the "Temps," M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire announced to the Committee that a Yellow Book on the affairs of Tunis would be laid before the Chambers on their reassembling.

The Chambers are to reassemble on Thursday next, the 12th instant.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 194.

*Extract from "Le Temps" of May 7, 1881.*

LA COMMISSION DU BUDGET.—Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères s'est rendu hier, à 3 heures, à la Commission du Budget, pour faire connaître l'avis du Gouvernement sur l'amendement Madier de Montjau relatif à la suppression de l'Ambassade de France auprès du Pape. M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a saisi cette occasion pour donner, en réponse à une question qui lui était posée, quelques explications intéressantes sur la question Tunisienne, sur l'action engagée en ce moment au delà de notre frontière Algérienne, et sur les conséquences et la portée qu'aura cette expédition.

Voici quelques détails sur cette partie des explications qui concernent l'affaire Tunisienne :—

LA QUESTION TUNISIENNE.—Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a d'abord donné une indication générale sur la situation militaire. Il a confirmé ce qu'ont appris les dépêches de la journée, à savoir, que les troupes se concentraient pour cerner les Kroumirs dans le lieu où ils se sont rassemblés et en finir ainsi d'un seul coup avec eux. Cette opération marquera très certainement la fin de l'action militaire, et c'est alors que s'engagera l'action diplomatique.

A ce propos, le Ministre a déclaré formellement qu'aucune négociation diplomatique n'avait encore eu lieu avec le Bey de Tunis. Tous les renseignements donnés sur de

[Nos. 192 A and B should be read after No. 192 on page 107.]

No. 192 A.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9.)*

(No. 173.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 14, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that an interrogation was yesterday addressed to the Ministry in the Chamber of Deputies respecting recent events in Tunis.

Signor Rudini, who put the question to the Government, said that he did not inquire whether the occupation of Bizerta by the French was a temporary or definitive measure, or whether it would be followed by the occupation of Tunis, which in comparison was a matter of small importance. All that he asked was whether it was true that Bizerta had been occupied by French troops.

In the absence of Signor Cairoli, Signor Depretis, Minister of the Interior, replied that the Government had received information that a French corps of 2,000 men had disembarked at Bizerta, and had occupied the town. He made no comment on this event, and the Government, he said, had no motive for changing its policy.

Signor Rudini confined himself to saying that he took act of the declarations of the Government, and he was convinced that the Chamber would do so also.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a Report of the above contained in the official *compte-rendu* of the proceedings of the Chamber.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 192 A

*Report of Proceedings in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, March 3, 1881.*

SIGNOR DI RUDINI domanda quindi all'onorevole Ministro dell'Interno se e quando intenda di rispondere all'interrogazione dell'onorevole Di Rudini.

Signor Depretis, Ministro, crede di poter rispondere egli stesso e subito, trattandosi di cosa di fatto, anche senza attendere la risposta del suo collega il Ministro degli Esteri, Presidente del Consiglio.

Il Presidente dà facoltà all'onorevole Di Rudini di svolgere la sua interrogazione.

Signor di Rudini.—Il testo stesso della sua interrogazione ne esprime intero il concetto. Non chiede se l'occupazione di Biserta sia un fatto temporario o definitivo; o se essa sarà seguita dall'occupazione di Tunisi, che in confronto sarebbe poca cosa; domanda semplicemente se sia vero che Biserta sia stata occupata dai Francesi.

Signor Depretis, Ministro.—Dalle notizie giunte al Governo risulta che un piccolo corpo Francese di 2,000 uomini è sbarcato a Biserta ed ha occupata la città. Egli non fa commenti sul fatto, ed il Governo non ha motivo di cambiare la linea della sua condotta.

Signor di Rudini prende atto delle dichiarazioni del Governo, convinto che anche tutta la Camera ne prenderà atto.

No. 192 B.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 9.)*

(No. 176. Most Confidential.)

My Lord,

Rome, May 5, 1881.

HAVING been informed yesterday afternoon that orders had been given to an Italian ship of war to proceed to Tunis, I sent to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to ascertain if this was the case.

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A little late Count Maffei called upon me, and asked whether I had made this inquiry by order of your Lordship, or without instructions with a view only to giving your Lordship information.

I, of course, replied that I had received no instructions whatever to make this inquiry, and that I had done so simply in order to be able to afford your Lordship information.

Count Maffei then said that, on M. Cairoli's departure from Rome, it had been settled that an Italian ship should proceed to Tunis as soon as one was sent by Her Majesty's Government. It was not intended that it should arrive precisely at the same time as the British ship, because Her Majesty's Government seemed to object, as General Menabrea had reported, to anything like a combined movement, but a few hours afterwards.

The English ship had, however, sailed without the Italian Government having been informed of its departure, and, consequently, there had been delay in sending the Italian ship; and, as things now stood, it was undecided whether one would be sent or not. He only hoped that if one did not go, the Italian Government would not appear to Her Majesty's Government as having left them in the lurch.

I told Count Maffei that I thought I could take upon myself to say that no such impression would be entertained by Her Majesty's Government.

Count Maffei then proceeded to say, though he begged me to consider what he told me as most confidential, that the reason of the hesitation as to sending a ship now arose from the opposition to such a step on the part of Signor Depretis, the Minister of the Interior, who, in the absence of Signor Cairoli, had the chief direction in important matters of foreign policy.

Signor Depretis, Count Maffei said, was averse to anything which might still more arouse French susceptibility, but he, Count Maffei, could not see how, as ships from other nations, including even Spain, he believed, were proceeding to Tunis, the presence of an Italian ship, considering that Italy had many more subjects and more important interests to protect than any other Power, could possibly excite the jealousy of France.

He was just going, he said, to Signor Depretis, and he would let me know whenever it might be decided to send an Italian ship.

Not having since heard from Count Maffei, I presume that this decision has not as yet been taken.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

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prétendues négociations ou sur les conditions que le Gouvernement Français se proposerait d'exiger du Bey sont des nouvelles absolument fantaisistes, répandues par des feuilles étrangères manifestement hostiles à la France.

Sur la nature de ces conditions, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a donné quelques indications générales à la Commission. Il a notamment déclaré d'une manière formelle que le Gouvernement Français ne poursuivait aucune conquête. Dans ses entretiens avec les Représentants des Puissances, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire avait déjà eu occasion de faire cette déclaration, qui est en outre consignée dans diverses dépêches signées de lui.

Mais, si le Gouvernement ne poursuit aucun projet de conquête, il a le dessein bien arrêté de faire respecter les intérêts Français, qui sont prépondérants en Tunisie. M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a indiqué à la Commission que le Gouvernement voulait obtenir du Bey un Traité donnant à notre pays toutes les garanties qu'il est en droit de réclamer et de posséder. Il ne s'agit en rien de léser les intérêts que d'autres Puissances Européennes peuvent avoir dans la Régence.

Ces intérêts, la France les connaît et les respecte, et on peut ajouter même qu'ils seront désormais bien mieux protégés lorsque la France aura établi un nouvel ordre de choses à Tunis. Mais on ne saurait méconnaître, ainsi que l'a rappelé le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, que la France a dans la Régence une situation prépondérante; ses nationaux sont créanciers de la Tunisie pour les quatre cinquièmes de la dette, à savoir, 95 millions sur 125. Des capitaux Français considérables ont été engagés dans des entreprises industrielles, agricoles, et commerciales. C'est tout cet ensemble d'intérêts si importants que le Gouvernement a le devoir de protéger en imposant au Bey des conditions sérieuses.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a fait connaître que toutes les mesures avaient été prises dans le but d'atteindre le plus promptement possible ce résultat, dès que les opérations militaires contre les Kroumirs seraient terminées, c'est-à-dire, dans un avenir très prochain.

Les réclamations de la France seront appuyées par l'imposant déploiement de forces que le Gouvernement a fait sur la frontière et qui se complète à l'autre extrémité de la Régence par l'occupation de Bizerte.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a ajouté qu'il n'y avait pas là seulement un intérêt Français mais que c'était la cause de la civilisation générale que nous servions en agissant comme on l'a fait.

Incidemment, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a traité la question du Consul Italien, Maccio, et de la propagande faite par la feuille Italo-Arabe connue sous le nom de "Mostakel." A ce propos, le Ministre a annoncé qu'il venait de recevoir communication d'une note par laquelle le Gouvernement Italien prétend que toutes les assertions relatives à une intervention quelconque de sa part ou de celle de ses agents dans la propagande anti-Française à Tunis sont inexactes.

Ajoutons, comme dernier détail, que le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a annoncé pour la rentrée des Chambres la distribution d'un Livre Jaune spécial renfermant les pièces diplomatiques relatives à la question Tunisienne. De la sorte, les Membres du Parlement pourront juger en pleine connaissance de cause toutes les péripéties de cette affaire.

No. 195.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.*—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 9.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 6 Mai, 1881.

JE vous transmets ci-après, pour votre information, le télégramme que Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis a adressé hier aux Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin, et qu'il vient de communiquer à son Altesse le Premier Ministre. Vous pourrez au besoin en faire tel usage que vous croirez opportun. Voici cette dépêche:—

"Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"Pressé par le besoin et par la gravité de la situation, j'ai adressé aux Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin le nouvel appel suivant, espérant que la Sublime Porte approuvera cette démarche de ma part:

"A son Excellence M. le Ministre de

"Je confirme à votre Excellence mon télégramme en date du 26 Avril, informant votre Excellence de l'invasion de la Régence par les troupes de la République Française,

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accomplie dans des circonstances contraires aux droits des gens, et contre laquelle j'ai solennellement protesté en mon nom et en celui de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan. Le Gouvernement de la République avait déclaré, aussi bien aux Cabinets Européens qu'à moi-même, que ses intentions se limitaient exclusivement au châtement des Kroumirs pour prétendus méfaits qu'ils auraient commis sur la frontière Algérienne, châtement du reste auquel nous n'avons jamais consenti. Malgré nos protestations et malgré les déclarations explicites du Gouvernement de la République, les troupes Françaises ont occupé notre ville de Kef; une colonne Française marche maintenant sur Béja; les forts de Tabarque ont été détruits et leur place occupée; d'autres tribus étrangères aux Kroumirs ont été attaquées; une garnison Française occupe actuellement le port de Bizerte, sur la forteresse de laquelle un drapeau Français flotte aujourd'hui. Je ne sais pas quelles autres mesures sont décidées au sujet des autres localités de la Régence. Je prends de nouveau à témoin le Représentant de Sa Majesté, pour certifier les efforts déployés par moi pour donner toutes les satisfactions possibles au Gouvernement Français au sujet des Kroumirs qui s'étaient entièrement soumis à notre autorité, et de la tranquillité publique que j'ai maintenue jusqu'à ce jour sur tous les points du territoire. Il m'est impossible de prévoir les désastres qui vont fondre sur la Régence si l'invasion continue. Par suite de ces circonstances, je place mon propre sort ainsi que les destinées de la Régence entre les mains de votre Excellence et celles de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, implorant, au nom de l'humanité et en qualité d'ancien allié de votre Gouvernement avec lequel j'ai toujours conservé des relations non-interrompues, l'aide de votre Excellence pour qu'elle adopte telle mesure de médiation urgente qui puisse arrêter les horreurs de la guerre qui dévastent en ce moment la Régence, et arrive à une décision commune des Gouvernements pour assurer l'avenir de ce pays et régler les réclamations que le Gouvernement de la République aurait à formuler contre mon Gouvernement.

(Signé) "MOHAMMED-ES-SADEK."

No. 196.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 9.)*

(Télégraphique.)  
(Confidentielle.)

Constantinople, le 6 Mai, 1881.

DANS un nouvel entretien que notre Ambassadeur à St. Pétersbourg vient d'avoir avec M. de Giers, ce dernier, tout en revenant sur l'impossibilité pour la Russie de prendre l'initiative dans la question Tunisienne, a ajouté que "c'était à l'Angleterre et à l'Italie à faire, comme Puissances plus intéressées, la première démarche, à laquelle la Russie s'associerait."

En vous transmettant ces informations, que j'ai également communiquées à notre Ambassadeur à Rome, je ne saurais assez engager votre Excellence à insister auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique pour lui faire prendre l'initiative dans cette question, qui prend des proportions de plus en plus graves.

No. 197.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 9.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 7 Mai, 1881.

JE vous transmets ci-après trois télégrammes, datés d'hier, que le Pacha de Tunis a adressés successivement à son Altesse le Premier Ministre:—

"Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"J'apprends en ce moment que l'escadre Française a occupé Bizerte et sa forteresse. Il n'y a plus à mettre en doute l'intention de la France de s'emparer de la Régence. Nous n'avons plus l'espoir qu'en Dieu et dans l'aide de la Sublime Porte. Il y a péril dans la demeure, si votre Altesse ne prend pas, au reçu de ce télégramme, les mesures les plus pressantes pour arrêter de suite le mal.

(Signé) "MOHAMMED-ES-SADEK."

"Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"Les Français continuent à s'avancer. Après l'occupation de Kef ils ont pénétré dans la Plaine de Jandouba, menaçant Béja. On dit qu'ils viendront à Tunis même, et on a lieu de croire que cela doit être vrai. Ils s'entendent dans les tribus de l'ouest et du nord; ils ont invité quelques-unes de ces tribus à se joindre à eux en les menaçant en cas de refus; en définitif, ils agissent en véritable conquérants. Je suis très inquiet et le péril est grand pour les habitants de Tunis, car je ne sais ce qui pourra se produire si les Français entrent à Tunis en ce moment. Je reçois télégramme du Gouverneur de Bizerte m'annonçant la présence dans ce port de trois cuirassés Français et d'un aviso. J'attends avec anxiété l'arrivée des navires Turcs, et je prie votre Altesse de m'annoncer leur départ aussitôt qu'il aura lieu.

(Signé) "MOHAMMED-ES-SADEK."

"Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"J'avais adressé à votre Altesse plusieurs télégrammes, le dernier desquels annonçant que les troupes Françaises, après avoir pris possession de Kef, s'étaient également emparées de Bizerte et y avaient arboré le drapeau Français; le port est tout à fait en dehors de la région des Kroumirs, tandis qu'il n'est qu'à une cinquantaine de milles de Tunis. Les mouvements militaires Français font toujours du progrès, et le nombre de leurs navires continue à s'accroître. Ces mouvements indiquent leur intention de s'emparer de la Régence et de ses places, l'une à la suite de l'autre. Le temps devient précieux; il y a donc urgence de procéder à des mesures de la part de la Sublime Porte d'une promptitude extraordinaire avant qu'il ne soit plus temps. Je prie votre Altesse de vouloir bien m'informer sans aucun retard des dispositions [?] qu'un Envoyé va arriver de France pour m'obliger à souscrire à toutes conditions qui me seront dictées, si non la Régence sera définitivement perdue.

(Signé) "MOHAMMED-ES-SADEK."

La rapidité avec laquelle les troupes Françaises envahissent le territoire Tunisien et la gravité de la situation qui provoque avec raison les appels pressants faits par Son Altesse Mohammed Sadek Pacha à la Sublime Porte n'échapperont certainement pas à votre attention.

Veillez en saisir sans retard son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, et l'engager instamment à exercer sa médiation dans le sens des propositions que vous avez été déjà chargé de lui communiquer par mes derniers télégrammes.

No. 198.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 9.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 8 Mai, 1881.

DANS une lettre adressée à Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis par le Consul-Général de France, nous remarquons le passage suivant, qui mérite de fixer toute notre attention:—

"De même que l'armée qui, du côté de l'Algérie, a pénétré dans les montagnes des Kroumirs se dirige sur les tribus hostiles, de même l'armée qui a débouché du côté de Kef se replie de l'intérieur de la province sur le pays des Kroumirs en vue de prendre l'ennemi entre deux feux."

Je vous prie de faire de ce passage l'usage que vous jugerez convenable.

No. 199.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 9.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 8 Mai, 1881.

SON Altesse le Pacha de Tunis vient d'adresser à son Altesse le Premier Ministre un nouveau télégramme, dont voici le texte:—



"Le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre à Constantinople.

"Tunis, le 7 Mai, 1881.

"Reçu le télégramme de son Altesse du 29 Avril.

"Je remercie la Sublime Porte de sa sollicitude pour moi et pour le pays. Faisant suite à mon télégramme annonçant l'entrée des troupes Françaises à Bizerte, j'informe son Altesse qu'ils ont pris la police de Bizerte, en se faisant remettre les clefs de la ville, et en établissant des gardes aux portes et dans l'intérieur de la ville. Ils y ont débarqué plusieurs canons et se sont emparés de la poudrière. Je continue à maintenir la tranquillité parmi les populations, lesquelles sont très émues de ce qui leur est arrivé, et inquiètes pour leur avenir.

"Mon unique espoir est placé dans la bienveillanté sollicitude de la Sublime Porte, de laquelle j'attends toujours une aide efficace. J'agirai en conformité des instructions contenues dans le télégramme de son Altesse en date d'hier.

(Signé) "MAHOMMED-ES-SADEK."

Je vous prie de faire de ce télégramme l'usage que vous jugerez convenable.

No. 200.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.\*

(No. 225.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 9, 1881, 3.15 P.M.

SIR A. PAGET reports that orders were given on the 7th instant for one Italian iron-clad to proceed to Tunis.

No. 201.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(No. 227.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 9, 1881, 3.40 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 44 of 8th instant.

You may give copy of my despatch No. 440 to French Minister for Foreign Affairs. A duplicate will be sent to you signed by myself.

No. 202.

Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 196.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 9, 1881.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and spoke again of the question of Tunis. He referred to the telegram of which he had communicated to me a copy, and said that his Government thought the matter was assuming increased urgency. They were anxious to follow any initiative which England might be disposed to take in the direction of an interposition of other Powers for the settlement of the questions which had arisen between the French Government and the Bey.

I told General Menabrea that Her Majesty's Government desired equally with that of Italy to take any measures that might be best fitted to prevent any infringement of Treaty rights or any prejudice to the interests of our respective countrymen in Tunis. I was glad to find the Italian Government were disposed to take the same view as ourselves. At the same time, I thought it would be better both for ourselves, for the Italian Government, and for the object we both had in view, that there should not be too great an appearance of combined action on the part of the two countries.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

\* Also to Mr. Goschen (No. 305), and Mr. Reade (No. 22).

No. 203.

Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.

(No. 336. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 9, 1881.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and gave me several telegrams from his Government, of which copies are herewith inclosed, relating to the differences which have arisen between the French Government and the Bey of Tunis.\*

Your Excellency will perceive that one of these is a confidential report of a conversation which the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg has had with M. de Giers on the subject, and concludes with a request that the English Government would take the initiative in bringing about an interposition of the other Great Powers in the question.

I told Musurus Pasha that we were paying great attention to the matter, and that he might have observed what I had said on the subject in the House of Lords on Friday night, of which the most accurate report would be found in the "Standard" and "Daily News."

I said that we were ready to communicate freely with the Turkish Government on the subject, but that we strongly advised them to be very prudent, and to do nothing which would justify extreme measures on the part of France.

It seemed to me that the Tunisian tribes had, in the first instance, given just cause of offence to the French. Our opinion was that the Bey should co-operate with the French forces in punishing the offenders.

I thanked his Excellency for the information given regarding the views of the Russian Government. I said that I was glad that the Russian Government were desirous of acting in accordance with other Powers, but that I had nothing to say to him on that part of the matter at the present moment.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 204.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 9, 1881.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to state to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome reports that orders were given on the 7th instant for one Italian iron-clad to proceed to Tunis.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 205.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)

(No. 60.)

My Lord,

Tunis, May 1, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I this day forwarded to your Lordship two telegrams to the following effect:—

No. 37. A French naval force, consisting of three iron-clad frigates and a gun-boat, is reported to have arrived off Bizerta.

No. 38. Soon after the arrival of the French naval force before Bizerta, the Admiral in command communicated officially to the Governor of that town his intention to take immediate possession of it, and threatened to carry out his intention by means of bombardment if he met with any opposition. After a reference to the supreme authorities the Bizerta garrison abstained from all opposition, and I understand the place has since been occupied by the invaders.

Three Arab tribes of the plain are reported by Sy Ali Bey to have been attacked yesterday by a division of French troops for not complying with their requisitions for horses and corn.

The men, he says, attempted to defend themselves, but were indiscriminately cut

\* Nos. 195, 196, 197, 198, and 199.



down, and, as he further states, the wounded prisoners, as well as women and children, were put to death under circumstances too horrible to relate.

Notwithstanding all the provocation that has been given, the conduct of this Government and people is beyond all praise; but the terrors of despair may cause a sudden and dangerous revulsion of feeling.

There is considerable agitation all over the country.

An extraordinary degree of pressure is brought to bear on the Bey, with a view to compel him to accept the French protectorate and other conditions, and the visits of French emissaries to the Bey's Minister are of hourly occurrence.

Without instructions from your Lordship, I of course abstain from giving any advice to the Bey at this critical juncture, although I am convinced that a word from Her Majesty's Representative would effectually prevent his yielding, even now.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 206.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)*

(No. 62.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 2, 1881.*

WITH reference to my past correspondence on the subject of the Franco-Tunisian conflict, terminating with my telegram No. 38 of yesterday, I have the honour to submit the following observations.

For a long time the assurances given by France, diplomatically and otherwise, that her action would be strictly limited to the punishment of the Hamirs, contributed much to the maintenance of order throughout this Regency. These assurances were supported by an order from the Bey to his subjects whereby the latter were enjoined strictly to preserve, at any cost, the public peace and tranquillity. The advance of the French has now effectually dissipated the hopes entertained. The occupation, in the course of a few days, of Keff, Souk-el-Arba, Tabarca, and, above all, Bizerta, demonstrates the elastic interpretation which France now appears to give to her original assurances.

The Arabs consider themselves deceived alike by the Bey and by France, and fully realize a Protectorate to the detriment or exclusion of every other Power than that of France.

I do not presume to call your Lordship's attention to the influence which this movement (and more particularly the occupation of Bizerta) has on our own interests in this country, but I feel bound to place before your Lordship, telegraphically, every detail that reaches me of the present invasion, for it is useless to call it by any other name.

Day by day and hour by hour emissaries of M. Roustan now cajole and now menace the Bey into accepting French protection and other like conditions, but, up to the present time, His Highness has remained firm and unmoved.

The protection sought for means the destruction of all other interests here but those of France. Indeed, the French make no secret of it. They publicly avow their intention to convert Bizerta (where the French flag is now flying) into a vast naval station, and to carry out a great many other projects for the aggrandisement of France at the expense of all the other Powers.

The Bey is convinced that the demand for a Protectorate has originated with a clique here, who are pecuniarily interested in the "exploitation" of his country, and that it is pressed upon him by parties who are known to have started the project of a military expedition. His Highness thinks, and I believe rightly so, that if this demand were official it would be made without the intercession of the emissaries to whom I have referred and in a very different manner, especially when it is sought by so powerful a nation as France, which has no more legitimate fear of Italian rivalry here than she has of an invasion of Algeria by the Hamirs.

I beg to thank your Lordship for the order for the gun-boat and other ship of war to proceed to Tunis. The gun-boat has already arrived. I have reason to know that, although Italian protection has been offered to the Bey in case of need, His Highness will apply, if necessary, to England for an asylum.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

P.S.—Since writing the above I learn that Her Majesty's ship "Monarch" has arrived at the Goletta.

T. F. R.

No. 207.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10, 3 A.M.)*

(No. 209.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Constantinople, May 9, 1881, 10 P.M.*

A MEMBER of the Embassy was shown the note the French Ambassador handed to the Foreign Minister on Saturday about Tunis. He wrote it down from memory as follows:—

"As the result of the deliberations of a Ministerial Council, the Government of the French Republic has instructed me to make the following communication to your Excellency: France being at war with part of Tunis, any dispatch of troops ('tout envoi militaire') on the part of Turkey will be considered an act of hostility. The French squadron has received the order to stop the Turkish squadron on its [? approach], and to prevent any disembarkation at any point whatever of the Regency."

This note has caused great excitement, owing both to its contents and the extreme curttness of its form.

The Foreign Minister told me to-day that the current rumours about the dispatch of a large Turkish naval force to Tunis were without foundation; but one or two Turkish men-of-war would be sent to represent Turkey in Tunisian waters, a step, he added, which all must admit they had a right to take.

The Porte is sending some troops to Tripoli in Barbary with the view of keeping tribes in order if necessary.

No. 208.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10.)*

(No. 40.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 9, 1881.*

A FRENCH column arrived at Utica this morning from Bizerta and left immediately afterwards for Jedeida, a station on the French railway 17 miles from Tunis.

There is nothing to prevent their arriving in the night time before this city, surrounding the Bardo, and making the Bey prisoner.

No. 209.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 10, 9:40 A.M.)*

(No. 41.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 9, 1881.*

FRENCH column 5,000 strong marching apparently upon Tunis. Ten miles off at mid-day.

No. 210.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11.)*

(No. 79.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 8, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship an account, with a translation, of two questions put by MM. Rudini and Massari in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday to the Minister for Foreign Affairs relative to the French occupation of Bizerta, and of the answer given by M. Cairoli, who added that Italy had acted in entire concert with England as to the protection of Italian subjects, and that the iron-clad "Maria Pia" had already started for Tunisian waters.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.



*Interrogations in the Italian Chamber and answer of M. Cairoli.*

(Translation.)

Rome, May 7, 1881.

TWO interrogations are announced by the President :—

1. M. Rudini asks if the Government have received any declaration from the French Government relative to the occupation of Bizerta?

2. M. Massari asks what communications may have passed between the Italian and English Governments respecting the French occupation of Bizerta?

M. Cairoli is ready to reply at once.

M. Rudini calls to mind M. Cairoli's declaration on the occasion of the interpellations on the Tunisian question, to the effect that the French army would limit its action to obtaining satisfaction for the offences of the Kroumirs. . . . . He remarked that the withdrawal of the resignation of Ministers had been immediately followed by the French occupation of Bizerta. The French have shown that they intend to overstep the avowed limits of their expedition. . . . . He considers Italy to be where Italian interests are concerned. Bizerta, if not Tunis, is the most important military point in the Regency. Therefore, he asks whether the Government have received any explanations from France, or whether they feel the necessity of asking for any?

M. Massari asks whether the Government have ascertained the views of the English Cabinet concerning the occupation of Bizerta, as it is most important for Italy to be acquainted with the ideas of the other European Governments in this matter. He mentions the questions put in the House of Commons and the dispatch of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch" to Tunisian waters.

M. Cairoli (Minister for Foreign Affairs) remarked that his declarations in the Chamber on the occasion of the Tunisian interpellations were the official reproduction of those made by France to Italy and England.

He considered that the occupation of Bizerta, though apparently beyond the scope of the avowed action of the French, belonged properly to the development of their operations, concerning which communications had been made and assurances given from the first.

He had nothing to add on this subject. As to the protection of Italian subjects and their interests, the Italian Government was in complete concord with England, and the "Maria Pia" had already started for Tunis.

MM. Rudini and Massari took note of the declarations of the President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

## No. 211.

E. MS.  
(No. 450.)*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11.)*

My Lord,

Paris, May 10, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 440 of the 7th instant, directing me to make known to the French Government the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the present state of affairs in Tunis. I showed the despatch this morning to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and gave him a copy of it. After carefully reading it, his Excellency said that he should probably hereafter make it the subject of a written communication, but that he begged me to report at once to Her Majesty's Government, in the name of the Government of the Republic and in his own name, and in the most formal and explicit manner, the assurance that the French Government did not intend to annex Tunis.

If it should be found necessary to occupy for a time certain points in the Regency with French troops, the occupation would, his Excellency said, be of an essentially provisional character, and would cease as soon as sufficient security had been obtained for the punctual execution by the Bey of the new arrangements which would be effected by the Treaty which he would be required to make. M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire begged me also to assure your Lordship that the French Government were quite resolved that all the Treaties between Tunis and other Powers should be maintained and respected. A provision placing those Treaties under the guarantee of France, would, he said, be perhaps inserted in the new arrangement between France and Tunis; and if the Treaties required revision, they might become the subjects of negotiation between France and the Powers concerned.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire went on to say that so far from being detrimental to the

interests of British subjects, the arrangements which France proposed to make for the better administration of the Regency must be eminently advantageous to their interests. For instance, it was by no means improbable that France might guarantee the punctual payment of the charges on the Tunisian Loan, a part of which was in English hands. It was not the intention of the French Government to undertake the administration of the whole of the Tunisian finances, but they might probably provide for the good administration of some of the branches of the revenue, of those branches, for instance, which had been specially conceded to the International Commission as securities for the loan. Moreover, British subjects and other foreigners would benefit by public works, which no doubt would be undertaken under French auspices; as, for instance, by the erection and maintenance of lighthouses along the coast, and by a very great work which was in contemplation, the clearing out the lake between the city of Tunis and the Goletta, as that large vessels might approach the place.

As regarded the pretensions of the Porte to consider Tunis as a portion of the Sultan's dominions, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that he had fully discussed the question in a Circular to the French Representatives abroad, which would appear in a Yellow Book which he should present to the Chambers on their reassembling.

His Excellency maintained that there was no ground for these pretensions. He said that they never had been and never would be recognized by France. The French Government would not have the Porte as a neighbour to Algeria. They would not consent to treat at Constantinople the numerous questions which must continually arise with a country on the Algerian frontier; while it would be far from advantageous to the Porte to be responsible to France for what happened in the Regency. There had been rumours of a design on the part of the Porte to send a naval or military force to Tunis. A report had also reached M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that a scheme had been under consideration at Constantinople for sending a force of 25,000 men to Tripoli, whence they might proceed to the Tunisian territory, station themselves to the south of the French troops, and excite hostile movements among the Arabs which might even extend to Algeria. To this last report M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire could not attach much credence, but at all events he had taken care not to leave the Porte in any doubt as to the light in which any interference on its part in the affairs of Tunis at the present juncture would be regarded by the French Government.

On the 7th instant the French Ambassador at Constantinople had, by his order, formally notified to the Porte that as the French Government were at war, not indeed with the Bey of Tunis, but with a portion of the population of the Regency, any dispatch of Turkish forces to Tunis would cause very serious embarrassment to the French, and would be regarded by them as a cause of conflict. M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that the technical phrase *casus belli* had been advisedly avoided in the notification, but that the words used conveyed the same meaning. He added that, at the same time, a specific warning had been given to the Porte that the French Admiral had received orders to prevent, by force, if necessary, any Turkish fleet from going to Tunis. M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire had not yet received any answer from the Porte.

The French force from Bizerta would, his Excellency said, be soon at a short distance from the city of Tunis, and in a position to advance in that direction, or in the direction of the Kroumirs, as circumstances might require. The French Government did not desire to occupy the city itself; they presumed that the Bey would come to his senses, and be ready to negotiate with them. In that case a Plenipotentiary would be named to conduct the negotiation, who would probably be one of the Generals of the French expedition. The Bey had, at all events for the last eighteen months, pertinaciously acted in a hostile spirit to the French. He had been incited to this by his Prime Minister, and it was under the influence of his Prime Minister that he seemed to be now pushing matters to extremity. The Prime Minister was actuated by pride, by religious fanaticism, and also, M. B. St. Hilaire believed, by an ardent desire to get hold of the Enfida estate. The French negotiators would, however, his Excellency went on to say, be instructed to use the most friendly language to the Bey. They would point out to him that his real danger was from the Porte, which undoubtedly designed to depose him, and they would assure him that France was ready to guarantee his throne and his dynasty. They would even offer him, as a result of the financial reforms they would recommend, an increased and more punctually-paid Civil List. On the other hand they would, of course, demand effectual securities against any renewal of the serious grievances which had led to the present state of things.

Lastly, M. B. St. Hilaire, reverting to your Lordship's despatch, said that he did not think that at the present moment he could suggest any way in which the interposition of

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Her Majesty's Government could conduce to the early settlement of the questions at issue between France and Tunis.

M. B. St. Hilaire mentioned, in the course of the conversation, that the Yellow Book on the affairs of Tunis would appear in two or three days.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## No. 212.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11.)*

(No. 451.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 9, 1881.*

IN my immediately preceding despatch of to-day I have recounted, as accurately as possible, what was said by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire in a very long conversation which I had with him this morning on the affairs of Tunis.

Your Lordship will not fail to observe that such details as his Excellency gave respecting the Treaty to be imposed upon the Bey fully bore out the statement made by him to me that it would secure to France a predominance which would, in fact, resemble a Protectorate.

It is also to be remarked that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire spoke of a "provisional" occupation of points in the Regency after the end of the present military operations.

The language used by his Excellency respecting the clearing out the lake, the erection of light-house, and such matters certainly seemed to imply that undertakings of this kind were to be conceded to Companies more or less exclusively French.

Lastly, the mode in which M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire stated that the Treaties were to be maintained and guaranteed seemed to foreshadow the interposition of France between the Tunisian Government and other Powers, and to confirm the report that it is proposed to restrict direct communication between the Bey and foreign Governments.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## No. 213.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11.)*

(No. 453.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 10, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a despatch from Colonel Brackenbury respecting the advance of the French troops from Bizerta towards Tunis, and other matters connected with the Tunisian expedition.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 213.

*Colonel Brackenbury to Lord Lyons.*

(Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 10, 1881.*

YOUR Excellency will have observed, in the despatch from General Forgerol to the Minister of War, published in to-day's "Journal Officiel," that the French column marching from Bizerta was to arrive yesterday at the railway station of Djedeida, 15 miles from Tunis, mentioned in my despatch No. 35 of the 3rd instant, as the probable first objective point of this column. The force disembarked at Bizerta is somewhat larger than I was led to believe by Colonel Richard last week. Its strength is, however, exaggerated by the newspapers, and it is probable that, after leaving a garrison in Bizerta, General Bréart has only advanced with about 3,500 men.

I venture to doubt whether we shall hear of any very serious action with the Kroumirs. The natural difficulties of their country are so great that they can doubtless, if they will, avoid coming into contact with the French, who are, by difficulties of supply, tied to the neighbourhood of the coast and the line of railway. I gathered from conversa-

tions at the War Office to-day that fear exists lest the Kroumirs should not give the columns any opportunity of coming to a general engagement, in which case, the opinion seemed to be, the French must be content with such "chastisement" as the burning a few huts and driving off some cattle can afford, and must at once turn to the political object of their expedition, for which some 25,000 troops are available in the Regency of Tunis.

I ascertained to-day that the Russian Military Attaché here had applied for and been refused permission to accompany the expedition to Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY BRACKENBURY.

## No. 214.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 11.)*

E

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 9 Mai, 1881.*

A PROPOS des affaires Tunisiennes, une correspondance vient d'être échangée entre le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de France et votre collègue de Paris. Voici la reproduction textuelle des documents qui forment cette correspondance :—

*"M. B. St. Hilaire à Essad Pacha.*

*"M. l'Ambassadeur,*

*"Le 3 Mai, 1881.*

"Vous avez bien voulu m'entretenir dernièrement des préoccupations particulières que paraissent causer à la Porte Ottomane les questions débattues en ce moment entre le Gouvernement de la République et le Bey de Tunis. Votre Gouvernement, m'avez-vous dit, serait prêt à faciliter un règlement de ces questions au moyen d'une entente amiable avec la France, et a désiré connaître l'accueil que nous serions disposés à faire à cette ouverture.

"J'ai déjà eu l'honneur d'appeler votre attention dans ma lettre du 12 Avril dernier sur la divergence d'appréciation qui, à mon vif regret, se produit entre la Sublime Porte et nous, dès qu'il s'agit de caractériser les rapports de la Tunisie avec l'Empire Ottoman. J'ai dû décliner, en conséquence, une discussion inutile sur des points qui appartiennent à l'histoire, et qui, en tout cas, n'ont pas conservé une valeur réellement pratique aujourd'hui. Nous n'avons aucunement le désir de faire remonter à la Sublime Porte la responsabilité des faits qui nous ont donné de justes sujets de plaintes en Tunisie, et nous n'avons pas la pensée de l'impliquer dans les difficultés qui peuvent survenir à cette occasion.

"Je suis persuadé que nous donnons ainsi à la Turquie une preuve nouvelle de notre amitié véritable, et je ne pourrais que déplorer très sincèrement que votre Gouvernement se méprenne sur les mobiles qui nous dirigent, lorsque nous ne croyons pas possible d'accueillir les bons offices qu'il nous offre."

*"Essad Pacha à M. B. St. Hilaire.*

"J'ai reçu et communiqué à mon Gouvernement la note que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser à la date du 3 de ce mois.

"La Sublime Porte regrette vivement de voir que le Gouvernement Français semble hésiter dans l'accueil à faire à notre démarche toute de conciliation, par suite d'une divergence d'appréciation quant aux liens qui unissent la Tunisie au reste de l'Empire.

"Je crois devoir, d'ordre de mon Gouvernement, signaler encore une fois à l'attention bienveillante de votre Excellence un droit qui réunit à sa valeur historique la force d'une pratique de souveraineté non-interrompue à travers les siècles.

"En effet, depuis la conquête de la Tunisie, obtenue au prix de deux grandes expéditions militaires et maritimes Ottomanes, le régime administratif de cette province, établi dès l'origine par la Sublime Porte, continue à y rester en vigueur.

"Après avoir désigné un des officiers généraux envoyés à Tunisie au poste de Gouverneur-Général, la Sublime Porte avait pris pour règle de choisir les Chefs de l'Administration Tunisienne parmi les descendants du premier Vali nommé par elle. C'est cette règle qui a été invariablement suivie jusqu'à nos jours.

"Les divers Valis qui se sont succédés, nommés tous par Firman Impérial, ont rempli, aussi bien que la population Tunisienne, leurs devoirs de sujétion envers la Sublime Porte ;



et, chaque fois que nous sommes en guerre, la Tunisie n'a pas manqué de nous envoyer son contingent militaire et maritime.

"Le Firman octroyé en 1871, à la requête de Son Altesse Sadek Pacha et de la population, n'était lui-même que la consécration de principe séculaire incontestable. Depuis lors, cet acte solennel, reconnu par les Puissances en général, rien n'est venu modifier le Statut Organique de la Tunisie de l'Empire Ottoman; les prières publiques ('Khoutbés') sont lues toujours au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan dans les mosquées; les monnaies continuent à être frappées à son chiffre; en un mot, toutes les marques distinctives de sa souveraineté sont conservées religieusement; et cette fois encore le Vali et les habitants corroborent, par des déclarations formelles réitérées, leurs devoirs de sujets fidèles et loyaux du Sultan, et partant les droits souverains de Sa Majesté.

"Je suis persuadé, M. le Ministre, que vous voudrez bien, dans vos sentiments de justice, apprécier les considérations qui précèdent et reconnaître, avec le tact qui caractérise à un si haut degré votre Excellence, qu'il nous serait réellement difficile de nous désintéresser du sort d'une population que tant de liens nous rattache. La Sublime Porte a, naturellement, le devoir de déterminer la responsabilité qu'une Administration dépendante pourrait avoir encourue en raison des faits qui ont provoqué les plaintes du Gouvernement de la République.

"L'amitié que la France nous a témoignée de tout temps, et dont votre Excellence me réitère la gracieuse assurance, est une garantie certaine du succès final des efforts que mon Gouvernement croit devoir ne pas discontinuer dans un but de conciliation évident."

## No. 215.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 11.)*

E  
(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 10 Mai, 1881.*

À PROPOS des affaires Tunisiennes, M. Tissot nous a fait, au nom de son Gouvernement, une communication à laquelle je viens de répondre par l'entremise de l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Paris.

Voici le texte de ces deux notes :—

"Son Excellence M. Tissot à son Excellence Assim Pacha.

"M. le Ministre,

*"Péra, le 7 Mai, 1881.*

"Le Gouvernement de la République Française, en conséquence d'une délibération du Conseil des Ministres, vient de me donner l'ordre de faire immédiatement au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan la communication suivante :—

"La France se trouvant actuellement en guerre avec une partie de la population Tunisienne, tout envoi de forces militaires à Tunis, de la part du Gouvernement Ottoman, serait considéré comme un acte d'hostilité. L'escadre Française aura l'ordre d'arrêter au passage l'escadre Turque et de s'opposer par la force à tout débarquement sur un point quelconque de la Régence.

Conformément à mes instructions, j'ai l'honneur de porter cette décision à la connaissance de la Sublime Porte.

"Agréez, &c.  
(Signé) "Tissot."

"Son Excellence Essad Pacha à son Excellence M. B. St. Hilaire.

"D'ordre de mon Gouvernement, j'ai l'honneur de faire à votre Excellence la communication suivante, en réponse à celle que son Excellence M. Tissot a adressée le 7 de ce mois à la Sublime Porte en conséquence d'une délibération du Conseil des Ministres de la République Française :—

"L'éventualité d'une expédition militaire Ottomane à Tunis serait une conséquence toute naturelle des droits de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, mon Auguste Maître, sur cette province.

Toutefois, la Sublime Porte ne voit pas la nécessité d'envoyer des troupes et l'escadre sur les lieux; deux bateaux seulement seront détachés de la Marine Impériale à destination de Tunis."

"Veuillez, &c.

Je vous prie de communiquer confidentiellement les documents précités au Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité.

## No. 216.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 1 P.M.)*

(No. 42.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 10, 1881, 6 P.M.*

FRENCH column referred to in my telegram No. 41 altered its course this morning, and proceeded to Jedeida.

## No. 217.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 2:30 P.M.)*

(No. 213. Secret.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Constantinople, May 11, 1881, 11:9 A.M.*

MINISTERS are constantly endeavouring to engage in conversation about Tunis.

The Sultan has also sent me a message asking about views of English Government.

Can your Lordship give me somewhat fuller instructions as to language I should hold? I know little beyond the desire of Her Majesty's Government that *status quo* should be observed—a desire which the Turkish Ministers suggest is not being fulfilled. My own mind suggests little that I can say.

## No. 218.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 6:45 P.M.)*

(No. 46. Confidential.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Rome, May 11, 1881, 4 P.M.*

THE Italian Government have received reports confirming advance of French troops on Tunis. If they enter, a Ministerial crisis here may be expected. To-day there is a meeting at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs between the chiefs of the Left and the President of the Council to settle the attitude to be taken in Parliament.

Count Maffei informs me that the Government will not depart from their present policy of prudence, and that as soon as the French took possession of Bizerta instructions were sent to Italian Consul at Tunis to hint cautiously to the Bey that, in order to avoid a worse calamity, he would do well to request that a French Plenipotentiary should be sent to treat with him as to conditions of arrangement. He wished the above information to be considered confidential.

## No. 219.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 313.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, May 11, 1881, 7:10 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 213, Secret, of to-day.

Following is substance of what I said to Musurus, on the 9th, about Tunis :—

We were ready to communicate freely with the Porte, but strongly advised it to be very prudent and to do nothing which could justify extreme measures from France. Tunisian tribes seemed to have, in first instance, given just cause of offence to the French. We thought Bey should co-operate with French in punishing offenders. We had nothing to say at present as to Porte's proposal that England should take initiative in bringing about an interposition of all the Great Powers.

I also told Musurus we were paying great attention to the question, and referred him to what I said in the House on the 6th, which I telegraph *en clair*.



No. 220.

*Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 11, 7.35 P.M.)*

(No. 78.)

(Telegraphic.)

*St. Petersburg, May 11, 1881, 7 P.M.*

RUSSIAN Government intend observing a reserved attitude with regard to Tunis. Confidentially, Emperor recommended Reouf Pasha to-day to counsel Porte to be prudent in her policy as to Tunis.

No. 221.

E.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 352.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 11, 1881.*

MUSURUS PASHA left with me to-day the telegram, of which I inclose a copy, from the Porte, giving the text of the communication addressed to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs by M. Tissot on the 7th instant, which declared that France would consider the dispatch of Turkish troops to Tunis as an act of war, together with the reply which Essad Pasha had returned to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, stating that the Porte would not send troops, but that two Turkish vessels of war would be detached to Tunis.\*

Musurus Pasha said that the Porte was not merely defending a right but fulfilling a Treaty. The Arab tribes had repudiated the authority of the Bey of Tunis on account of his refusal to let them oppose the advance of the French troops. If the Sultan remained passive, all the Mahommedans would consider themselves as abandoned by His Majesty.

He asked whether I approved of the answer which had been given to the French communication. I pointed out to him that it was true that we had sent a vessel of war and a gun-boat to Tunis, and we were informed that the Italians had done the same, but that in both instances the vessels had been sent to provide for the case of disturbances, which might make the protection of traders and residents necessary.

Musurus Pasha said that the vessel which they were sending at present were not iron-clads, and were intended to give asylum to Turkish subjects and to Mussulmans, who were flying from the danger of a massacre.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 222.

E.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 353.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 11, 1881.*

MUSURUS PASHA gave me to-day a copy of a telegram from the Porte, of which a copy is inclosed herewith for your Excellency's information, repeating the text of two notes which have passed between the Turkish and French Governments, relative to the offers of the former to take steps for bringing about a settlement of the differences between France and Tunis.†

I told his Excellency that I had read the reply which the Turkish Ambassador at Paris had been instructed to address to the French Government with great interest.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 223.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 197.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 11, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 195 of the 7th instant, I transmit to you herewith, for your information, a copy of a letter, together with its inclosures, from the Italian

\* No. 215.

† No. 214.

Ambassador, suggesting that Her Majesty's Government should take the initiative with regard to intervention, in concert with the other Powers concerned, in order to bring about a satisfactory solution of the Franco-Tunisian difficulty.\*

My above-mentioned despatch was, your Excellency will observe, founded on the documents now inclosed.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 224.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 197 A. Confidential.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 11, 1881.*

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me to-day and reverted to the question of Tunis. He had received telegrams from his Government reporting the continued advance of the French troops.

I told his Excellency that some days ago I had addressed a despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris offering, in friendly terms, the good offices of Her Majesty's Government if they could be in any way of service for the settlement of the questions which had arisen between the French Government and the Bey.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire had now replied that he did not see any way in which the interposition of Her Majesty's Government could usefully be exercised for this purpose.

I said to General Menabrea that I had purposely abstained from informing him of our having taken this step when I last saw him; that my reason for the omission was the opinion, which I had at the time expressed to him, that it was desirable to avoid as far as possible anything which might bear the appearance of combined action on the part of Great Britain and Italy.

I added that I now made the communication to him in confidence.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 225.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12.)*

(No. 457.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 11, 1881.*

THE following appeared among the unofficial telegrams published this morning by the "Agence Havas":—

*"Constantinople, le 10 Mai.*

"Voici le texte de la protestation remise par M. Tissot à la Porte le 7 Mai:—

"La France se trouve actuellement en guerre avec une partie de la population Tunisienne. Tout envoi de forces militaires à Tunis de la part du Gouvernement Ottoman serait considéré comme un acte d'hostilité. L'escadre Française aura l'ordre d'arrêter au passage l'escadre Turque et de s'opposer par la force à tout débarquement sur un point quelconque de la Régence."

(Signé) "Tissot."

"Aujourd'hui, dans l'après midi il y a eu séance plénière à la Sublime Porte pour s'occuper de la question Turco-Grecque."

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) LYONS.

\* No. 190.



*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 12.)*

**E**  
(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 10 Mai, 1881.

MES diverses communications ont déjà signalé à votre attention les phases que vient de traverser la question Tunisienne.

A la suite des incursions de quelques tribus Berbères du côté de l'Algérie, incursions que les autorités de Tunis se déclarèrent prêtes à réprimer sans retard, le Gouvernement Français a jugé nécessaire d'expédier un nombre considérable de troupes qui, après s'être emparées de la plus grande partie de la province, ne sont plus éloignées du centre que de quelques lieues.

Nonobstant les assurances que nous lui avons données sur les mesures efficaces de répression prises par Son Altesse le Pacha et sur le prompt rétablissement du calme dans les parties agitées du pays, le Gouvernement de la République a cru devoir agir lui-même en regardant à un tout autre point de vue les rapports séculaires qui unissent la Tunisie à l'Empire Ottoman comme partie intégrante de cet Empire, et en paraissant opposer une fin de non recevoir à notre proposition d'une entente amiable avec lui pour écarter les difficultés surgies et concilier les droits de la Sublime Porte avec les intérêts de la France dans cette circonstance.

L'ordre des choses établie *ab antiquo* à Tunis c'est, je ne saurais assez le répéter, la souveraineté incontestable du Sultan sur cette province, souveraineté incontestée également par les Puissances en général.

Ce droit est resté jusqu'ici intact et sans subir aucune interruption depuis la conquête de ce pays en 1534 par Haïreddin Pacha et en 1573 par Kilidj-Ali et Sinan Pachas que la Cour souveraine avait envoyés sur les lieux avec des forces imposantes de terre et de mer.

Depuis cette époque, et en vertu des principes établis par la Sublime Porte, tous les Valis de Tunis se sont succédés parmi les descendants du premier Vali nommé par le Sultan, et ont reçu invariablement leur investiture du Souverain. Les Firmans de nomination sont enregistrés à la Chancellerie du Divan, ainsi que les innombrables correspondances qu'ils ont entretenues avec la Sublime Porte tant sur leurs rapports politiques avec les Gouvernements Européens que sur des affaires de leur administration intérieure.

Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, la Sublime Porte s'était réservée le droit, conjointement avec la nomination du Gouverneur-Général, d'envoyer directement de Constantinople sur les lieux le Grand Juge ("Cadi"), et le Secrétaire-Général de la Province, et ce n'est que par un . . . spécial, accordé spontanément par la Cour souveraine, que le Pacha a été autorisé à nommer lui-même ces deux fonctionnaires. En effet, suivant le rite Musulman, comme attribut de la souveraineté du Sultan, les prières publiques ("khoutbés") sont récitées dans les mosquées au nom de Sa Majesté, et les monnaies frappées à son coin. En temps de guerre enfin, la Tunisie a toujours envoyé son contingent à la métropole; et, d'après un usage immémorial, des personnages officiels étaient fréquemment envoyés à Constantinople pour renouveler l'hommage de soumission et de dévouement des Gouverneurs-Généraux au pied du trône de leurs Souverains, et recevoir les autorisations et instructions nécessaires de la Sublime Porte relativement aux affaires importantes de la province. C'est ainsi que le Pacha actuel a sollicité, avec la population Tunisienne, et obtenu certains accroissements de privilèges de Son Altesse par le Firman de 1871, reconnu à cette époque par les Puissances, et qu'aujourd'hui encore il fait des appels pressants à son Souverain légitime pour lui venir en aide dans la situation critique où se trouve la Tunisie.

Tels sont les faits réels que nul ne saurait contester. Veut-on maintenant savoir leur consécration par l'histoire et par les documents authentiques? Je me borne à n'en citer que quelques exemples parmi tant d'autres, vu le cadre restreint de cette dépêche.

Les anciens Traités conclus entre la Turquie et la France portent l'énumération en entier des titres du Sultan parmi lesquels celui de Souverain de Tunis; à *fortiori*, voir par exemple du 10 Sefer, 1084 (ère Chrétienne 1668). Dans ces mêmes documents, il était stipulé que tous les Traités conclus entre les deux Etats devaient être également exécutoires en Tunisie.

Vers la moitié du dix-septième siècle, c'est-à-dire, à la date du 15 Sefer, 1066, un Firman fut adressé par le Sultan aux Beys et grands Juges de la Régence, concernant l'exequatur délivré par la Sublime Porte au Consul de France à Tunis, et autorisant ce dernier à cumuler les fonctions de Consul des Puissances non-représentées à ce moment-là à Constantinople, telles que le Portugal, la Catalogne, l'Espagne, Venise, Florence, &c.

Le Consul avait pour mission de protéger le commerce et la navigation, sous pavillon Français, des sujets de ces Gouvernements dans les ports principaux de la Tunisie, et le Firman défendait l'immixtion des Consuls Anglais, Hollandais, et autres, dans l'exercice des fonctions de l'Agent Français.

"Sened," Convention passée entre la Sublime Porte et l'Autriche en date du 9 Ramazan de l'an 1197 de l'Hégire et confirmé par le Traité de Sistow du 3 Rébi-ul-Akhir, 1205, enjoignant aux autorités ("Odjaks") d'Alger, de Tunis, et de Tripoli, de Barbarie, l'ordre de protéger, au nom du Sultan, les navires de commerce du Saint Empire Romain. De même dans l'Acte qui précéda ce "Sened" et fut conclu le 15 Cheval de l'an de l'Hégire 1161, d'ordre du Sultan, entre les dits "Odjaks" et l'Empire précité, le Gouverneur-Général d'alors de Tunis ayant rang de Beylerbey et portant le nom d'Ali Pacha, mentionne clairement dans le Préambule, signé en toutes lettres par lui, les mots suivants: "Notre auguste Souverain le Sultan Mahmoud le Victorieux."

Quant aux faits contemporains, je citerai, par exemple, l'ordre adressé par la Sublime Porte le 15 Rébi-ul-Evvel, 1245, année 1827 de l'ère Chrétienne, aux autorités d'Alger, de Tripoli, de Barbarie, et de Tunis, de ne point se mêler dans le différend surgi entre l'Empire d'Autriche et celui du Maroc; l'ordre également transmis de Constantinople au Vali de Tunis, le 14 Sefer, 1247, année 1830 de Jésus-Christ, pour la nouvelle organisation de la milice régulière de la province conformément au système adopté à cette époque pour l'armée régulière Ottomane; et, enfin, l'acte de soumission du Pacha de Tunis présenté en 1860 à Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan qui l'avait nommé Gouverneur-Général, acte publié à cette époque dans les journaux Européens sans soulever d'objection d'aucune part. Aussi bien qu'en 1863, à l'occasion de l'Emprunt Tunisien contracté à Paris sans l'autorisation de la Sublime Porte, M. Drouyn de L'Huys, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empereur Napoléon III, avait, sur les observations du Gouvernement Ottoman, suggéré l'idée de provoquer de la part du Pacha de Tunis ou du banquier émissaire une demande d'autorisation à adresser à la Sublime Porte pour "légitimer," disait-il, l'opération, et pour que les droits revendiqués par la Porte Ottomane soient sauvegardés. Le Ministre Français fit même faire des ouvertures dans ce sens auprès du banquier en question.

Nous mettons avec la plus entière confiance les considérations qui précèdent dans la balance de la justice et de l'équité des Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin.

Soucieux à plus d'un titre des obligations internationales qui découlent pour tous de cet acte solennel, elles voudront bien, nous en sommes persuadés, exercer leur médiation impartiale dans le sens de la proposition que nous leur avons déjà soumise en vue de sauvegarder les droits de la Sublime Porte garantis par le même Traité et d'amener la conciliation des intérêts réciproques des deux grands Etats dans la malencontreuse question de la province Tunisienne, qui fait partie intégrante de l'Empire.

Je prie votre Excellence de vous énoncer, conformément à la présente dépêche, auprès de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, en lui donnant tous les renseignements que vous jugerez utiles.

Vous êtes en même temps autorisé à en remettre une copie à son Excellence si elle en manifeste le désir.

No. 227.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12.)*

(No. 43.)

(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, May 11, 1881, 7:35 P.M.

SINCE French troops have marched towards Tunis and are concentrated at Jedeida, efforts of emissaries from M. Roustan have been redoubled. These people, more or less disregarded and possessing no credit [*sic*], demand, among other things, Treaty of Alliance assuring to France exclusive right of representing Tunis with all foreign Powers. This arrangement would destroy the Sultan's right of suzerainty over Tunis.

Stringent orders had arrived this day from Constantinople enjoining Bey not to treat with M. Roustan, and informing him the Porte was negotiating directly with the Great Powers. The Porte [?] tells Bey to communicate all steps taken or contemplated to the British Government. The Bey has consequently rejected all French proposals thus indirectly made.



*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 318.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, May 12, 1881.*

YOU should say to Porte, with reference to Mr. Reade's telegram No. 43 of yesterday, repeated to you, that Turkish Government will incur serious responsibility, in which Her Majesty's Government decline to be involved, if they enjoin the Bey to refuse to treat with M. Roustan.

*The Bey of Tunis to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12, 9 P.M.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Tunis, le 12 Mai, 1881, 3:23 P.M.*

LES troupes Françaises continuent à avancer dans la Régence; malgré cela je n'ai cessé de rassurer la population en lui répétant que les opérations de la France se seraient limitées au châtiement des Kroumirs, croyant que nous étions justifiés à faire ces déclarations sur les assurances données par la France aux Puissances et à la Sublime Porte. Contrairement à ces déclarations, la colonne Française est aujourd'hui à la distance de 17 milles de la capitale, et elle s'était rapprochée de beaucoup plus pendant sa marche. Ces faits indiscutables tendent à paralyser l'effet des injonctions faites à la population locale, et mon autorité pourrait en être sérieusement compromise dans le pays. J'ai redoublé d'efforts pour persuader aux indigènes de n'offrir aucune résistance à cette invasion, mais notre tâche devient très difficile depuis qu'il devient apparent que les engagements pris par le Gouvernement de la République ne sont plus tenus. Il m'est impossible de dire pour combien de temps encore je pourrai maintenir l'ordre parmi les tribus inoffensives qui voient leurs propriétés et leurs récoltes sacrifiées par la marche des troupes Françaises. Dans ces conditions, et par suite de l'urgence du cas, j'implore le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique et les autres Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin de prendre telles mesures qui puissent induire le Gouvernement Français à déclarer définitivement ses intentions au sujet de la Régence et à faire connaître les plaintes qu'il se croit justifié à formuler contre mon Gouvernement.—MOHAMMED-ES-SADEK.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received May 12, 9:30 P.M.)*

(No. 218.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Constantinople, May 12, 1881, 5:30 P.M.*

MY telegram No. 209 of the 9th instant.

Following is the reply of the Porte to the French note about Tunis:—

"The dispatch of troops and of the Ottoman squadron would be the natural consequence of the sovereign rights of my august Master.

"The Porte, however, does not see the necessity of sending troops or of landing ('effectuer un débarquement'), but, like the other Powers, sends war ships to watch over its interests."

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 29.)  
Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 12, 1881.*

IN your telegram No. 34 of the 29th ultimo, you submit that the fear of a bombardment which would be inspired by the presence of British ships of war in Tunisian waters might have the effect of deterring the Arabs from rising, as was the case in the insurrection of 1864.

On reference to the correspondence which passed at that time, I do not find that there was then any question of a bombardment, neither do I understand how such a threat could be carried into execution, unless the attack were confined to the Goletta, as ships of war cannot, according to the chart, approach within range of the city of Tunis. Their utility would therefore be limited to the power of affording a refuge to the European

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 342. Extender.)  
Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 12, 1881.*

IN a telegram which I have repeated to you to-day, Her Majesty's Agent at Tunis states that the Bey has received stringent orders from Constantinople not to treat with M. Roustan.

I have to request your Excellency to inform the Turkish Government that they will, by offering such advice, incur serious responsibility, in which Her Majesty's Government decline in any way to be involved.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.



residents, and this, as I have explained in another despatch, is the object of the presence of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch."

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 232.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)*

(No. 63.)

My Lord,

Tunis, May 5, 1881.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 60 of the 1st instant, reporting the seizure of Bizerta by a French military force, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a letter which His Highness the Bey has addressed to M. Roustan, protesting against the occupation of that town (Keff) and other places in this Regency, as a violation of his own and the Sultan's Treaty rights, and an infringement of all the principles of the law of nations.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure in No. 232.

*The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan.*

(Traduction.)

PAR notre lettre du 26 Joumada el Oula 1298, nous avons protesté contre l'entrée des troupes Françaises sur le territoire de la Régence, du côté des Kroumirs et notamment du côté du Kef, contrairement à notre volonté. Depuis, les troupes Françaises ont occupé le Kef, qui est une des forteresses de notre Régence. Cette occupation s'étant effectuée en violation de tous les principes du droit des gens, il est de notre devoir de réitérer, pour ce fait, nos protestations les plus formelles contre votre Gouvernement.

D'autre part le Gouverneur de Bizerte nous a informé qu'hier des navires de guerre Français se sont présentés devant Bizerte, et ont demandé d'occuper la ville et les forts, en menaçant de s'en emparer par la force. Comme nous sommes en état de paix avec le Gouvernement de la République, nous avons prescrit à qui de droit d'éviter tout conflit entre nos soldats et ceux de l'armée Française. Par suite de ces instructions le Gouverneur de Bizerte n'a pas pu repousser par la force cet acte, et les soldats Français ont occupé Bizerte et arboré le drapeau Français sur les forts.

Cette occupation, pendant que nous sommes en état de paix avec votre Gouvernement, est un fait insolite et contraire à toutes les règles de droit et à tous les principes. Par conséquent, nous protestons de la manière la plus solennelle contre cette occupation. Notre présente protestation doit être considérée comme faisant suite aux précédentes, et se joignant à elles pour tous les fins que de droit.

Nous ne pouvons pourtant ne pas exprimer notre regret de nous voir traités de la sorte par un Gouvernement ami que nous avons toujours traité avec tous les égards et avec lequel nous nous sommes toujours efforcés de conserver les meilleurs rapports.

*Ecrit le 3 Joumada Ettani, 1298 (2 Mai, 1881).*

No. 233.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)*

(No. 459.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 12, 1881.

I HAVE sent to your Lordship by post a copy of a French Yellow Book respecting the affairs of Tunis which has just appeared.

The book begins with the accompanying Circular, dated the 9th instant, from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the French Representatives abroad relative to the general character of the policy of France in Tunis, and to the causes and objects of the present expedition to that country.

The question of the claims of the Sultan to sovereignty over the Regency is treated at length in this Circular.

The rest of the Yellow Book is divided into three parts.



The first contains documents illustrating the state of things on the frontier of Tunis and Algeria from 1870 to 1881.

The documents in the second relate to the difficulties between the French and Tunisian Governments concerning French enterprises and the protection of French citizens in the Regency during the years 1880 and 1881.

In this part appear five despatches respecting the question of the Enfida estate (Nos. 169, 170, 183, 185, and 193, pp. 232, 240, 259, 263, and 272).

The third and last part contains papers, chiefly Reports from the Naval and Military Commanders respecting the expedition.

In the course of the somewhat hasty inspection of the book, which is all I have yet had time for, I have not perceived any mention of communications between the French and other European Governments respecting the present state of things as regards Tunis. Indeed, although the volume bears the usual title of "Documents Diplomatiques," I think it hardly contains any diplomatic document, properly so called, except the Circular at the beginning.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 233.

*Circular addressed to French Representatives abroad.*

Monsieur,

Paris, le 9 Mai, 1881.

J'AI l'honneur de vous adresser le recueil des documents sur Tunis, et je veux en préciser le sens général, en m'entretenant avec vous des causes de l'expédition actuelle et des résultats que nous en attendons. Plusieurs fois déjà, le Gouvernement de la République a fait connaître ses motifs et ses intentions; et vous vous souvenez particulièrement des déclarations qu'a faites, du haut de la tribune nationale, M. le Président du Conseil. Elles ne peuvent laisser le moindre doute par leur netteté et par leur franchise. Mais néanmoins, je désire vous soumettre quelques considérations, dont vous pourrez vous servir utilement, dans vos relations avec le Gouvernement auprès duquel vous êtes accrédité.

La politique de la France dans la question de Tunis n'a jamais été inspirée que par un seul principe; et ce principe, qui suffit à expliquer toute notre conduite depuis un demi-siècle envers la Régence, c'est l'obligation absolue où nous sommes d'assurer la sécurité de notre grande Colonie Algérienne. Depuis 1830, il n'est pas un des Gouvernements divers qui se sont succédé en France qui ait négligé ce soin essentiel; et le devoir s'en impose à nous avec une évidence tellement irrésistible que personne, en Europe, ne conteste notre droit de prendre toutes les mesures que nous pouvons juger nécessaires pour sauvegarder notre possession Africaine contre un voisinage turbulent ou hostile. Depuis la bataille de l'Isly, en 1844, nous sommes tranquilles du côté de l'Ouest et du Maroc, où notre frontière est protégée par le désert; nous n'avons à y réprimer que quelques désordres passagers. Mais à l'Est, du côté de Tunis, le désordre est permanent, et voilà dix ans qu'il persiste malgré nos efforts; il augmente même chaque année, depuis la révolte des spahis de Soukarrhas, en 1871, qui, après avoir massacré leurs officiers sous les ordres de Kablouti, cherchaient un refuge sur le territoire Tunisien, jusqu'au pillage de "l'Auvergne," en 1878, et jusqu'à la récente agression des Khoumirs et le pillage du "Santoni," qui est d'hier. Nous avons poussé la patience à un point qui a parfois étonné le monde. Nous ne le regrettons pas; mais, après tant de dommages soufferts et après tant de longanimité, nous avons dû nous résoudre à en finir en pacifiant notre frontière d'une manière durable et en réglant les choses avec le Bey de Tunis de façon à ce que le péril ne recommence plus sous aucune forme.

Quand on parcourt les documents que je vous communique, on est surpris de la fréquence des méfaits dont nous avons eu à nous plaindre, et de l'impuissance irrémédiable de l'Etat sur le territoire duquel ils se passent et qui est incapable de les prévenir. Aux confins de la Tunisie et de l'Algérie, il y a toute une zone de tribus insoumises et belliqueuses, qui sont perpétuellement en guerre et en razzias les unes contre les autres, et qui entretiennent dans ces contrées naturellement très difficiles un foyer d'incursions, de brigandages, et de meurtres. Le plus ordinairement, ce sont les tribus de notre domination qui en sont les victimes, parce que, grâce au régime plus doux dont nous leur avons apporté le bienfait, elles sont devenues plus sédentaires et plus paisibles, en se civilisant peu à peu. Mais les tribus Tunisiennes sont plus barbares et plus aguerries; et entre celles-là, on distingue surtout les Ouchétas, les Freichichs et les Khoumirs. On ne sait

pas au juste ce qu'elles peuvent compter de combattants, ou, comme on dit, de fusils. Mais les opérations qui nous demandent en ce moment une armée de 20,000 hommes prouvent assez les forces de l'ennemi, retranché dans un pays à peu près inaccessible.

Comme il n'y a pas de frontières naturelles entre la Tunisie et l'Algérie, la délimitation est restée indécise, et elle n'a jamais été faite régulièrement. On l'a tentée en 1842, et les travaux topographiques, qui facilitait la présence de nos troupes, n'ont pas duré alors moins de trois ans; la carte levée à cette époque a même été approuvée en 1847 par le Bey de Tunis, Ahmed, lors de son voyage en France; mais il n'est pas résulté de ces préliminaires une Convention officielle entre la Régence et nous; et la frontière est encore flottante, comme elle l'était sous les Beys de Constantine. C'est une lacune qu'il faudra combler dès que nous le pourrons; la Régence y trouvera son avantage aussi bien que nous.

Ainsi, le premier objet de notre expédition, c'est la pacification définitive de notre frontière de l'Est.

Mais ce ne serait rien d'y avoir rétabli l'ordre et le calme, si l'Etat qui nous est limitrophe restait sans cesse hostile et menaçant. Nous ne pouvons pas craindre une attaque sérieuse de la part du Bey de Tunis, tant qu'il en est réduit à ses propres forces; mais la plus simple prudence nous fait une loi de veiller aux obsessions dont il peut être entouré, et qui, selon les circonstances, nous créeraient en Algérie de très graves embarras, dont le contre-coup porterait jusqu'en France. Il nous faut donc à tout prix avoir dans le Bey de Tunis un allié avec qui nous puissions loyalement nous entendre; il nous faut avoir un voisin que nous rende la sincère bienveillance que nous aurons pour lui, et qui ne cède pas à des suggestions étrangères, cherchant à nous nuire et à compromettre notre puissance légitime. Nous avons montré depuis plus de quarante ans que, si nous étions obligés, pour la sécurité de la France Algérienne, de revendiquer dans la Régence une situation prépondérante, nous savions respecter scrupuleusement les intérêts des autres nations, qui peuvent en toute confiance vivre et se développer à côté et à l'abri des nôtres. Les Puissances savent bien que nos sentiments à leur égard ne changeront pas.

Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, nous sommes demeurés en excellente intelligence avec le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Bey; et, si parfois nos rapports avaient été troublés pour le règlement de quelques indemnités dues à nos tribus lésées, l'accord s'était promptement rétabli; il s'était même consolidé à la suite de ces dissensions légères. Mais dernièrement, et par des causes qu'il serait trop délicat de pénétrer, les dispositions du Gouvernement Tunisien envers nous ont totalement changé; une guerre, sourde d'abord, puis de plus en plus manifeste et audacieuse, a été poursuivie contre toutes les entreprises Françaises en Tunisie, avec une persévérance de mauvais vouloir, qui a amené la situation au point où elle en est arrivée aujourd'hui.

Le Livre Jaune, que vous recevrez avec cette lettre, vous montrera les phases diverses qu'ont présentées ces résistances opiniâtres, tantôt simplement tracassières et gênantes, le plus souvent injustes et dommageables. Vous verrez par des documents authentiques ce qu'ont été les questions du chemin de fer de la Goulette à Tunis; du câble sous-marin, qu'on voulait rendre indépendant de nos lignes télégraphiques en bravant tous nos droits; du domaine de l'Enfida, qu'on essaye de ravir par des moyens illégaux à une Compagnie Marseillaise, aussi honnête que laborieuse; du chemin de Soussa, dont on entrave comme à plaisir l'exécution régulière; et tant d'autres affaires où la justice, avec l'esprit de conciliation et même de condescendance, n'a pas cessé d'être de notre côté. Rien n'y a fait; et devant un parti pris aussi tenace et aussi peu justifié, il nous a bien fallu reconnaître, à notre grand regret, que l'entente n'était plus possible, et que, pour modifier des dispositions si peu équitables, il fallait recourir à d'autres moyens que la discussion loyale et la persuasion, devenues absolument inutiles.

C'est là le second motif d'une expédition, que nous eussions voulu pouvoir éviter, mais à laquelle nous ont contraints de mauvais procédés, que nous n'avons supportés peut-être que trop longtemps.

Si nous rendons le Bey de Tunis responsable pour des réclamations si fondées, c'est que nous avons toujours considéré la Tunisie comme un Royaume indépendant, malgré quelques vestiges à peine sensibles d'une ancienne vassalité, que des Suzerains presque purement nominaux avaient eux-mêmes négligée pendant des siècles, qui ne s'était révélée qu'à de très rares intervalles, et qui, dans ses intermittences, avait compté bien moins d'années de soumission effective que d'années d'oubli et d'affranchissement absolu. Prise et reprise trois ou quatre fois dans le seizième siècle par le fameux Barberousse (Khaïr-ed-Din), vainqueur des Espagnols en 1534, par Charles Quint l'année suivante, et de nouveau en 1553, par le Dey d'Alger en 1570, par Don Juan d'Autriche en 1573, la Tunisie était tombée, durant tout le dix-septième siècle, sous l'oppression anarchique de Janissaires,



dont les Chefs ou Deys, au nombre de quarante, s'étaient partagé le pays, à peu près comme les Mamelouks s'étaient partagé l'Égypte. Mais, en 1705, un d'eux, Hossein-ben-Ali, renégat Grec ou Corse, plus habile que les autres, avait su conquérir l'unité de pouvoir en détruisant ses rivaux. Proclamé Bey par ses compagnons d'armes, il fonda la dynastie Hosseinite, qui depuis lors n'a pas cessé de régner, sous la forme d'un séniorat Musulman. Elle a aujourd'hui près de 200 ans d'indépendance; et le seul lien réel qu'elle eût conservé avec la Porte Ottomane durant ce long intervalle, c'était un lien religieux. Elle reconnaissait le Kalife, sans être sujette du Sultan, et surtout sans lui payer aucun tribut. Seulement, à l'avènement de chaque Bey, un usage respectueux envoyait de riches cadeaux au Chef de la religion siégeant à Constantinople; et, pendant le reste du règne, aucun acte politique ne rappelait qu'outre cet hommage bénévole, le Bey de Tunis dut encore autre chose au Commandeur des Croyants. Aussi, la Régence traitait-elle seule, et de son droit propre de Puissance souveraine, avec toutes les Puissances étrangères; elle faisait avec elles des Conventions qui avaient force de loi par l'unique assentiment du Bey; et telles furent notamment les Conventions passées avec la France en 1742, dans l'an 3, dans l'an 10, en 1824; tel fut aussi le Traité célèbre du 8 Août, 1830, pour l'abolition de la course et de l'esclavage, sans parler d'autres actes moins importants, comme celui qui concernait la pêche du corail.

La Porte semblait si bien avoir pris son parti de l'émancipation irrévocable de cette province, dont la possession avait toujours été si transitoire, que, pendant tout le dix-huitième siècle, elle refusa de recevoir les réclamations qui ne cessait de lui adresser l'Europe contre les pirates barbaresques; elle n'avait aucune action sur eux; et, comme elle n'en était pas maîtresse, elle n'entendait pas répondre de leurs déprédations, si redoutables et si coûteuses à toutes les marines de la Méditerranée.

Les Puissances de l'Europe ont fait vingt fois la guerre à la Régence sans être le moins du monde en guerre avec la Porte Ottomane. En 1819, le Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle sommait Tunis d'avoir à cesser la piraterie, et il ne demandait pas que la Turquie intervint, en tant que solidaire de son prétendu vassal. En 1833, le Royaume de Sardaigne et celui des Deux Siciles furent en guerre avec la Régence sans y être avec la Porte, parce que la Tunisie était indépendante à leurs yeux comme aux nôtres. Toutes les relations de la France avec Tunis depuis la conquête d'Alger ont eu lieu de même, directement et sans l'intermédiaire de la Turquie. Lorsqu'en 1847, Ahmed Bey vint chez nous, il y fut reçu avec tous les honneurs dus à un Roi. La Porte Ottomane se montra-t-elle choquée en rien de la pompe royale dont il fut entouré? Nullement; et l'Europe ne s'en choqua pas plus qu'elle, parce que l'Europe était de l'avis de Lord Aberdeen, qui, dans sa fameuse protestation (23 Mars, 1831) contre notre conquête d'Alger, n'en déclarait pas moins "que les Etats Européens avaient dès longtemps traité avec les Barbaresques comme Puissances indépendantes."

Bien plus, la Tunisie elle-même n'a jamais eu, de sa situation vis-à-vis de la Turquie, une autre idée que celle d'une complète liberté. Un document authentique, qui est de la plus haute importance et qu'on ne saurait récuser, l'atteste suffisamment: c'est la Constitution Tunisienne (Bouyourouldi) jurée par le Bey actuel de Tunis, Mohammed-es-Sadok, lors de son avènement au Trône (23 Septembre, 1859), comme l'avaient jurée ses prédécesseurs. Dans cette Constitution, intitulée: "Loi Organique Tunisien," en 114 Articles, publiée en Arabe et en Français, à Tunis et à Bône, il n'est pas dit un seul mot du Sultan; et, pour qu'on ne puisse pas avoir un doute quelconque de la souveraineté du Bey, il proclame, dans le Préambule (p. 4), "que ce sont les hauts fonctionnaires Tunisiens qui l'ont choisi à l'unanimité pour Chef de l'Etat, conformément à la loi de succession en usage dans le Royaume." Ces chapitres entiers sont consacrés à l'exposé des droits et des devoirs du Roi, à la position des Princes de la famille Hosseinite, aux droits et aux devoirs des sujets, aux fonctions des Ministres, à l'organisation de leurs services, au Conseil Suprême de la Régence, aux impôts, aux Budgets, &c. Sans doute, on peut critiquer ce document singulier, si l'on veut le juger uniquement d'après nos idées Européennes; mais il n'en est pas moins décisif pour démontrer à tout esprit non prévenu que le Royaume de Tunisie ne relève que de lui-même, sans devoir quoi que ce soit à une souveraineté extérieure. Tous les Traités conclus dans les trois derniers siècles par les Etats Européens avec la Tunisie ne parlaient jamais que du Royaume et du Roi de Tunis. Quinze ou vingt Traités où cette locution sacramentale a été employée, portent la signature de l'Angleterre de 1662 à 1863 et 1875: trente autres de 1604 à 1832 portent la signature de la France. En 1868, le Traité conclu par l'Italie a été conclu avec le Royaume de Tunis. Ainsi, la Tunisie n'a fait que se nommer dans sa Loi Organique du nom que le monde lui donnait unanimement; et en s'appelant "Royaume," elle a voulu bien marquer qu'elle avait toutes les prérogatives d'indépendance et de pouvoir qu'implique ce titre éclatant.

En face de précédents si nombreux et si décisifs, la Porte Ottomane ne doit donc pas être très étonnée que la France ait refusé de reconnaître sa suzeraineté, toutes les fois qu'elle a été invoquée, comme elle l'est encore aujourd'hui. Nous n'avons aucune peine à avouer que la Porte a été depuis un demi-siècle assez constante dans ses revendications. En 1835, elle avait ressaisi la suzeraineté de Tripoli, après y avoir réprimé d'affreux désordres; cette occasion lui avait paru favorable pour étendre sa souveraineté à Tunis. Mais devant l'opposition énergique de la France, elle avait renoncé à ce projet. Dix ans plus tard, en 1845, un Chambellan du Sultan, étant venu apporter à Tunis un Firman d'investiture, le Bey refusa de se soumettre. Une vingtaine d'années se passèrent sans qu'on risquât une nouvelle tentative; mais vers la fin de 1864, les anciens desseins furent repris; et cette fois, ce fut la Régence elle-même qui demanda l'investiture. La démarche était au moins étrange de la part d'un Prince qui jusque-là semblait tenir beaucoup à son indépendance. Mais des conseils puissants avaient effrayé le Bey sur sa situation relative à la Porte, et le Général Khérédine avait été envoyé à Constantinople pour y proposer et y obtenir le Firman. Cette fois encore, la France opposa son veto; et, au lieu d'un acte émané du Sultan, le Bey et ses conseillers durent se contenter d'une simple lettre Vizirienne, qui contenait des clauses identiques. On profita de nos désastres en 1871 pour accomplir ce qu'on n'avait pu faire, ni sous le règne de Louis Philippe, où la flotte Française avait interdit plusieurs fois le passage à la flotte Turque se dirigeant sur Tunis, ni sous l'Empire, qui ne s'était pas montré moins résolu.

Le Firman du 25 Octobre, 1871, obtenu à l'ombre de nos malheurs, avait été proclamé le 18 Novembre au Bardo par Khérédine, au nom du Sultan, et accepté par le Bey qui l'avait sollicité plus ou moins spontanément. Quoi qu'il en fût, la France protesta comme auparavant; elle déclara le Firman nul et non avenu; et, depuis dix années entières, elle n'a cessé de manifester son opposition toutes les fois que les circonstances l'ont exigé. On a pu douter que la Porte elle-même, malgré son succès, fût bien sûre de faire valoir son droit; le Firman de 1871, qui détruisait l'indépendance séculaire du Royaume Tunisien, s'il a reçu quelque publicité, a été généralement ignoré, si ce n'est des quelques Puissances directement intéressées.

Dans le système du Firman de 1871, qu'elle qu'ait pu être son origine, Tunis se trouvait remis en partie sous la main de la Porte. Le pouvoir du Bey de Tunis est bien encore reconnu héréditaire, comme il l'est depuis deux siècles; mais le Bey de Tunis devient un simple Vali, c'est-à-dire Gouverneur-Général de l'Eyalet de Tunis. Par une conséquence nécessaire de cette modification profonde, le pouvoir n'est plus véritablement héréditaire dans la famille Housseinite, quoi qu'en puisse dire le texte littéral du Firman. Un Gouverneur-Général, un Vali, est révocable au gré de son Suzerain, et il est très possible que le Bey actuel apprenne bientôt à ses dépens, aux dépens de son trône, de sa liberté, de sa vie peut-être, quelle faute énorme lui ont fait commettre des conseillers mal inspirés. Mohammed-es-Sadok n'a rien à redouter de la France qui, malgré de sérieux griefs, n'en veut ni à sa dynastie, ni à sa personne, ni à ses Etats. Avec la Porte, au contraire, il peut tout craindre; et son sort est livré au hasard des circonstances.

Dans l'état présent de nos relations avec la Porte Ottomane, relations d'amitié et de sympathie sincères, nous eussions désiré pouvoir envisager la situation de Tunis sous un autre jour; mais la vérité est irréfutable pour nous, d'après les précédents que nous avons cités. Nous pouvons même demander à la Porte pourquoi, si le Bey de Tunis est son Vali, elle ne l'a pas empêché depuis deux ans de se conduire envers la France comme il l'a fait, et pourquoi elle n'a pas cherché à prévenir la crise actuelle, que, pour notre part, nous avons si longtemps essayé de conjurer.

Il faut que cette crise, dont nous circonscrivons les effets autant qu'il dépend de nous, aboutisse à un Traité qui nous garantisse à la fois contre les incursions dont nos frontières souffrent sans cesse, et contre les menées déloyales dont le Bardo est trop souvent l'instrument ou le centre. C'est là le double but de notre expédition; et, je ne crains pas de le dire, nous avons en Europe une approbation générale, partout où des préventions sans fondement n'aveuglent pas les esprits.

Telle est donc, Monsieur, notre attitude envers la Porte et envers la Tunisie. Pour l'une et pour l'autre, nous sommes pleins de bienveillance; et tout ce que nous demandons au Bey est de ne nous être pas hostile. Si la Régence comprend bien ses intérêts, elle pourra profiter de notre alliance infiniment plus que nous ne pouvons profiter de la sienne. Nous pouvons lui apporter tous les bienfaits de la civilisation dont nous jouissons. Dès 1847, nous établissions chez elle le service de la poste; en 1859 et 1861, le service des télégraphes; en 1877 et 1878, un chemin de fer de 50 lieues de long de la frontière Algérienne à Tunis. Nous lui construisons en ce moment deux chemins de fer nouveaux: l'un, qui reliera Tunis à Bizerte au nord, de 20 lieues de long; l'autre, qui reliera Tunis à Soussa au sud. Nous allons prochainement commencer le travail plus difficile d'un port



à Tunis même, qui permettra aux navires d'arriver de la rade et de la Goulette jusqu'à la capitale. Dans la dette Tunisienne, des fonds Français, à côté de fonds Anglais et Italiens, entrent pour plus des trois cinquièmes. Le magnifique aqueduc d'Adrien, qui amenait des eaux excellentes à Tunis, a été restauré par un ingénieur Français.

Nous sommes prêts, dès que les bons rapports auront été repris, à faire une foule d'autres entreprises non moins bienfaisantes : des phares sur les côtes ; des chemins intérieurs pour relier bien des villes populeuses et prospères les unes aux autres ; de vastes irrigations dans un pays où les rivières ne manquent pas, mais où elles ne sont pas mieux aménagées que les forêts ; des exploitations de mines abondantes en toutes sortes de métaux ; une culture perfectionnée sur les biens-fonds que les Européens peuvent acquérir dans la Régence, ou même sur les terres des indigènes ; l'emploi d'eaux thermales que jadis les Romains ont découvertes et pratiquées. La Régence de Tunis est en général très fertile ; et la richesse prodigieuse de l'antique Carthage l'atteste assez. Sous la protection de la France, tous les dons naturels de cette contrée peuvent être développés de nouveau avec toute l'énergie et l'intensité des méthodes et des pratiques modernes.

Nous pouvons ajouter que, si le Bey veut bien s'en fier à nous, l'administration intérieure de la Régence peut recevoir des améliorations non moins nécessaires et non moins assurées. Ce serait un service incontestable et relativement assez facile à lui rendre que d'y introduire, soit pour la levée des impôts, soit pour la manutention des fonds, soit pour les écritures des comptables, la régularité qu'à atteinte la gestion de nos finances. Ce serait un service non moins précieux que d'améliorer aussi l'administration de la justice d'après les principes qu'ont adoptés les Puissances pour la réforme judiciaire en Egypte.

Ce n'est pas la France seule qui profiterait de tous ces progrès que la Régence peut conquérir si elle le veut. Ce sont toutes les nations civilisées qui en profiteraient ainsi que nous ; et rien ne s'oppose à ce que nous fassions pour la Tunisie, sans conquête et sans combats, ce que nous faisons dans notre Algérie et ce que l'Angleterre fait dans l'Inde. C'est un devoir sacré, qu'une civilisation supérieure contracte envers des peuples moins avancés.

Telles sont, Monsieur, les considérations que je recommande à votre attention ; elles vous serviront à éclairer autour de vous les esprits qui sont curieux de se rendre compte impartialement des desseins de la République Française en Tunisie.

(Signé) BARTHÉLEMY ST. HILAIRE.

No. 234.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)*

(No. 460.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 12, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, Reports received by the Minister of War from the Tunisian expedition.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 234.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of May 12, 1881.*

Paris, le 11 Mai, 1881.

LE Ministre de la Guerre a reçu les télégrammes suivants :—

"La Calle, 11 Mai.

"Le Général Ritter, Commandant la subdivision, au Ministre de la Guerre.

"Le Colonel Delpach, Commandant des troupes d'occupation à Tabarque, rend compte que, le 9 au matin, deux officiers qui promenaient leurs chevaux sur la plage ont reçu un coup de feu tiré de l'autre côté de la rivière.

"Une reconnaissance de troupes, appuyée d'une section de montagne, a été envoyée immédiatement du côté de l'ennemi ; l'artillerie du fort et la canonniers 'La Pique' ont prêté leur concours. Le Caïd ben Ramdan, à la tête de quelques cavaliers de Goum, a servi d'éclaireur et a traversé la rivière, suivi de deux détachements de génie et du 18<sup>e</sup> d'artillerie et soutenu par un peu d'infanterie.

"Après quelques feux de salve et d'artillerie, les troupes se sont avancées dans la lande, au milieu de laquelle elles ont engagé le feu contre les Kroumirs embusqués dans les plis de terrain et dans un bois.

"Les troupes, parties à 2 heures, sont rentrées à 6 heures au camp. L'ennemi a dû subir des pertes sensibles ; nous n'avons eu, de notre côté, que deux soldats du 88<sup>e</sup> légèrement blessés.

"Après la retraite des troupes, de nombreux groupes d'indigènes sont venus occuper les dunes et les landes. Les agresseurs appartiendraient aux Mekra et aux Houamdja ; la première de ces tribus avait fait des ouvertures de soumission qui n'ont pas été suivies d'effet."

Le Général Forgemol envoie de El Mana la dépêche suivante, datée d'aujourd'hui 11 Mai, 8 heures du matin :—

"La journée du 10 a été belle, les hommes ont pu sortir de la boue et nettoyer leurs effets. Des reconnaissances ont été faites par des officiers des diverses brigades pour des camps à occuper dans le voisinage d'Aïn-Draham, d'El-Merid.

"Quelques ouvrages ont été exécutés dans les environs du camp d'El-Mana. Un brigadier et deux hommes du train qui s'y sont rendus isolément et ont poussé trop loin ont été surpris par des Kroumirs et tués. La fraction où ce fait a eu lieu sera traitée en conséquence.

"Ce matin, 11 Mai, les brigades Vincendon et Galland sont en marche sur Aïn-Draham et Sidi-Abdallah, la brigade Caillot sur El-Meridj, la brigade Logerot sur El-Fedj.

"Rien de changé dans la situation des autres brigades, si ce n'est que le Général Bréart a dû arriver hier à Djedeïda. Rien de nouveau du Kef et de Tabarque et de la division de Constantine.

"Le service des renseignements signale beaucoup d'agitation chez les Mogods et les Nefza.

"La population de Mateur aurait refusé d'obéir à leurs excitations. Je pars aujourd'hui pour Fernana avec mon quartier-général et serai demain à El-Fedj avec la brigade Logerot."

No. 235.

*General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)*

E

(Personnelle.)

M. le Comte,

Londres, le 12 Mai, 1881.

JE crois devoir communiquer à votre Excellence le résumé, ci-joint, d'un télégramme qui m'est parvenu ce matin, et qui contient l'exposé d'une conversation que le Général Cialdini a eue, hier, avec M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire, qui lui fait connaître les vues du Gouvernement Français relatives à Tunis.

En attendant que je puisse avoir l'honneur de voir votre Excellence pour m'entretenir avec elle à ce sujet, je vous prie, M. le Comte, d'agréer, &c.

(Signé) S. F. MENABREA.

Inclosure in No. 235.

*M. Cairoli to General Menabrea.*

(Télégraphique.)

Le 11 Mai, 1881.

M. BARTHÉLEMY DE ST. HILAIRE a dit aujourd'hui au Général Cialdini que le Gouvernement Français ne renoncera à faire entrer les troupes au Bardo et à Tunis que dans le cas où le Bey signera le Traité qu'on lui propose, et qu'on soutient être si bienveillant que possible.

Il n'y aurait pas d'indemnité de guerre, mais une simple amende à la charge des Kroumirs.

La frontière ne serait rectifiée que dans le sens d'une meilleure délimitation ; il n'y aurait d'annexé que quelques points dans le pays des Kroumirs.

Tout le territoire de Bizerte serait évacué aussitôt qu'on aura la certitude de la bonne foi du Bey et de son respect du Traité.

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Si le Bey, au contraire, refuse, on occupera le Bardo et Tunis, et on obtiendra par la force ce qu'on n'aura pas obtenu de bon gré.

Dans une pareille situation, il nous paraît d'intérêt général d'éviter l'occupation de Tunis, ce qui ne ferait qu'aggraver la situation actuelle.

## No. 236.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)*

(No. 44.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 12, 1881, 12:55 P.M.*

THE French Chargé d'Affaires has written to the Bey this day that French Government had charged General Breart, now commanding the French forces at Jedeida, to treat with the Bey as Plenipotentiary concerning conditions of future of this country, but saying that conditions did not menace the integrity of Tunis or the Bey's person or dynasty, and asking the Bey's permission to present the General and to allow the French troops to approach Tunis.

The Bey agrees to receive the Plenipotentiary, but firmly refuses to assent to approach of the troops, pointing out the dangers such movement would entail.

I believe the Bey's apprehensions are well founded.

News this moment received shows that the French column is now close to the Bardo Palace.

## No. 237.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)*

(No. 45.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 12, 1881, 6:45 P.M.*

GENERAL BREART, M. Roustan, and a numerous staff of officers were received in audience by the Bey this afternoon.

The General, as Plenipotentiary, presented an ultimatum demanding a French Protectorate of this Regency, and allowed the Bey till 9 this evening to accept or refuse.

No telegrams transmitted from Tunis during the night.

## No. 238.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13.)*

(No. 46.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 12, 1881, 7:55 P.M.*

THE Bey has yielded to the French demands, the following being included in the conditions of settlement:—

French Protectorate; surveillance of Tunisian frontier and [? coast]; and supersession of Financial Commission by mutual arrangement.

## No. 239.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 11:30 A.M.)*

(No. 46.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Paris, May 13, 1881, 9 A.M.*

HER Majesty's Consul at Marseilles reports that squadron, consisting of six iron-clads and two smaller vessels, left Toulon on the morning of the 10th instant, and that its destination was believed to be Tunis.

## No. 240.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 2:10 P.M.)*

(No. 47.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Paris, May 13, 1881, 11:45 A.M.*

FRENCH Minister for Foreign Affairs has just told me that a Treaty between Bey and the French Republic was signed yesterday evening at 8 o'clock at Tunis.

He promises to send me the text in the course of the day.

It contains Articles placing the existing Treaties between Tunis and the European Powers under the guarantee of France, charging French Agents abroad with protection of Tunisian interests, and forbidding the Bey to make Treaties with foreign Powers without previously communicating them to the French Government.

## No. 241.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 3:50 P.M.)*

(No. 48.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Paris, May 13, 1881, 2:20 P.M.*

MY telegram No. 47 of to-day.

The following is a summary of the remaining stipulations in Treaty:—

French military authorities to occupy such points as they deem necessary to re-establish security on the frontiers and the coast.

The occupation to cease when the French and Tunisian military authorities agree that the Local Administration is able to maintain order.

France to support the Bey against any danger to his person, dynasty, or the tranquillity of his States.

A French Minister Resident to see to the execution of the Treaty, and conduct the relations between French Government and the Tunisian authorities.

The two Governments to settle by common accord a financial organization which will secure the service of the debt and the interests of creditors of Tunis.

Bey to prohibit importation of arms or munitions of war by Djerbu, Gabes, or other southern ports of Tunis.

A contribution of war, for which the Bey will be responsible, to be levied on the refractory tribes.

I shall send a full copy by the messenger this evening.

## No. 242.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 13, 3:30 P.M.)*

(No. 49.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Paris, May 13, 1881, 2:30 P.M.*

MY telegrams Nos. 47 and 48 of to-day.

French Minister for Foreign Affairs particularly requests that it may not transpire that I am in possession of a copy of the Treaty, because he cannot yet communicate one to the Chambers.

## No. 243.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

E  
(No. 453.)  
My Lord,

*Foreign Office, May 13, 1881.*

HER Majesty's Government have read with great interest the clear and able report of your Excellency's conversation with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire on the subject of Tunis, given in your despatch No. 450 of the 10th instant. The conversation included several topics of a very important character, but as the French Minister for Foreign Affairs stated his intention of putting his views on these subjects in writing, Her Majesty's Government deem it more convenient and more respectful to the French Government to await the communication of these written observations before commencing any further discussion of them.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire has disclaimed any intention of conquest or annexation on



the part of France. He is reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 432 of the 5th instant to have repudiated any design of making use of Biserta for a naval port, though he stated that private French enterprise might possibly at some future date be devoted to improving it for the purpose of a commercial harbour.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire has assured your Excellency that all existing Treaty-rights of foreign countries and their subjects will be respected and preserved. But I notice that in your despatch now under reply he is reported to have spoken of possible revision of some of the Treaties and change of the parties on whom they were binding. Her Majesty's Government would be glad to be assured that in the view of the French Government itself all rights now enjoyed by foreigners will be left intact, that they will enjoy the same freedom of commercial intercourse as hitherto, that no attempt will be made to secure exclusive or differential privileges for the subjects or citizens of one country over those of others, and that the position of the creditors of the Regency will not be weakened.

In the meantime, and while awaiting the further communication to which I have alluded, it may be desirable to place clearly on record the assurances which Her Majesty's Government have received from that of France as regards the nature and extent of any arrangement that may eventually be concluded with the Bey.

You will present a note in these terms to the French Government.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 244.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 208. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 13, 1881.*

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon at my request.

I told his Excellency the general substance of Lord Lyons' conversation with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire on the subject of Tunis, as reported in Lord Lyons' despatch No. 450 of the 11th instant, and I also informed him of the nature of the answer which Her Majesty's Government were making to that communication.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

## No. 245.

*Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 13, 1881.*

I AM directed by Earl Granville to state to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that according to a report received from Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles, a French squadron, believed to be destined for Tunis, and consisting of six iron-clads and two smaller vessels, left Toulon last Tuesday morning.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

## No. 246.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

E  
(No. 461.)

My Lord, *Paris, May 13, 1881.*  
WITH reference to my despatch No. 344 of the 14th ultimo, I have the honour to report that the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies reassembled yesterday after the Easter recess.

M. Jules Ferry, the President of the Council of Ministers, read in each Chamber, on behalf of the Government, a declaration respecting the affairs of Tunis, the text of which I will inclose to your Lordship in another despatch.

The Yellow Book on the same subject had been distributed to the Members beforehand.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 247.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

(No. 463. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 13, 1881.*

I HAD this morning the honour to report to your Lordship by telegraph that I had received a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles informing me that the Mediterranean squadron, consisting of six iron-clads and two smaller vessels, left Toulon on the 10th instant in the morning, and that Tunis was believed to be its destination.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

## No. 248.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

E  
(No. 466.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 13, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the text of a Declaration respecting the affairs of Tunis which was read yesterday, both in the Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies, by M. Jules Ferry, the President of the Council of Ministers.

It begins by praising the troops employed in the expedition against the Regency.

It goes on to say that a new phase—that of negotiation, is about to open.

"La République Française," it affirms, "a répudié solennellement en commençant cette expédition tout projet d'ambition, toute idée de conquête; elle renouvelle, à cette heure, où le dénouement est proche, les mêmes déclarations."

It concludes by expressing a hope that an end may be put "à un différend qui ne regarde que la France, qui ne met en jeu qu'un intérêt Français, et que la France a le droit de résoudre seule avec le Bey, dans cet esprit de justice, de modération, de respect scrupuleux du droit Européen qui inspire toute la politique du Gouvernement de la République."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 248.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of May 13, 1881.*

M. le Président.—La parole est à M. le Président du Conseil. (Vif mouvement d'attention.)

M. Jules Ferry, Président du Conseil.—MM. les Sénateurs, depuis votre séparation, les opérations militaires que le Parlement nous a autorisés à entreprendre en Tunisie ont suivi leur cours régulier. Incessamment contrariées par des intempéries exceptionnelles, elles se sont déroulées avec ordre, avec méthode, et avec succès.

Le cercle se resserre plus étroitement de jour en jour autour des tribus insoumises. L'état sanitaire de l'armée, qui dépasse toutes les espérances, témoigne du bon fonctionnement de tous les services.

Des troupes jeunes, aux prises pour la première fois avec les rigueurs et les difficultés d'un climat nouveau, d'une région à peu près inconnue et favorable à toutes les surprises, ont fait preuve, en toute occasion, des plus solides qualités militaires, et si les peuplades qu'elles ont à réduire, fidèles à une tactique séculaire, n'ont pas tenté contre elles, jusqu'à ce moment, d'action décisive; si les unes se dérobent, si les autres se soumettent, c'est à la discipline, c'est à l'énergie des soldats autant qu'à la prévoyance du commandement qu'il convient d'en faire honneur. (Très bien! très bien!)

Nous ne savons, Messieurs, quelles épreuves nouvelles peut encore réserver à nos troupes le terrain difficile dans lequel elles sont engagées; la persistance extraordinaire du mauvais temps a forcément ralenti l'exécution du plan de campagne, sans cependant le modifier; mais il est permis d'espérer à cette heure, quoi qu'il arrive, un dénouement prochain des opérations militaires.

Une autre phase va s'ouvrir, celle des négociations.

En entrant en Tunisie, nous marchions, ainsi que nous l'avons déclaré au Parlement,

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à la poursuite d'un double but : châtier et réduire les tribus Kroumirs qui, depuis deux ans, fatiguent notre frontière Algérienne de leurs incursions, et prendre pour l'avenir nos garanties.

Les sacrifices que la France s'impose en ce moment pour la sécurité de sa grande Colonie Africaine ne seraient pas suffisamment payés d'une soumission apparente ou précaire, ou de promesses vite oubliées. (Très bien ! très bien ! à Gauche.)

Il faut à notre sûreté des gages durables. (Nouvelle approbation.) C'est au Bey de Tunis que nous les demandons. Nous n'en voulons ni à son territoire ni à son trône. (Très bien ! très bien !)

La République Française a répudié solennellement, en commençant cette expédition, toute projet d'annexion, toute idée de conquête ; elle renouvelle, à cette heure où le dénouement est proche, les mêmes déclarations. (Vif assentiment.)

Mais le Gouvernement du Bey de Tunis est tenu de nous laisser prendre sur son territoire, pour la sauvegarde de nos possessions et dans la limite de nos intérêts, les mesures de précaution qu'il est manifestement hors d'état d'assurer par ses propres forces. (Très bien ! très bien !)

Des Conventions formelles devront mettre à l'abri des retours hostiles et des aventures notre légitime influence dans la Régence. Nous espérons que le Bey en reconnaîtra lui-même la nécessité et le bienfait (Très bien ! très bien !), et que nous pourrons ainsi mettre fin à un différend qui ne regarde que la France (Vif mouvement d'approbation), qui ne met en jeu qu'un intérêt Français et que la France a le droit de résoudre seule (Nouveau mouvement dans le même sens), avec le Bey, dans cet esprit de justice, de modération, de respect scrupuleux du droit Européen, qui inspire toute la politique du Gouvernement de la République. (Applaudissements prolongés à Gauche.)

No. 249.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

E

(No. 470. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 13, 1881.*

M. B. DE ST. HILAIRE did me the honour to call upon me this morning and to inform me that a Treaty had been signed by General Bréard, on the part of France, and by the Bey of Tunis, last evening.

His Excellency was also so good as to make me acquainted with the substance of the Treaty.

The following summary of the stipulations is, I think, in substance, sufficiently accurate :—

All existing Treaties and Conventions between France and Tunis to be confirmed.

The French military authorities to occupy such points in the Regency as they may deem necessary for the purpose of re-establishing order and security on the frontier and on the coast.

The occupation to cease when the French and Tunisian military authorities shall agree that the Local Administration is able to maintain order.

France to support the Bey against any danger to his person, his dynasty, or the tranquillity of his State.

The French Government to guarantee the execution of the Treaties now existing between Tunis and the European Powers.

The French Republic to be represented by a Minister Resident, who will see to the execution of the present Treaty, and who will conduct the relations of the French Government with the Tunisian authorities with regard to all affairs common to the two countries.

The French Diplomatic and Consular Representatives in foreign countries to be charged with the protection of Tunisian interests and Tunisian subjects.

The Bey not to make any Treaty or Convention having an international character without informing the French Government and coming beforehand to an understanding with that Government.

The two Governments to settle by common accord a financial organisation which will secure the service of the Public Debt and the interests of the creditors of the Regency.

A war contribution, for which the Bey will be responsible, to be levied on the refractory tribes.

The Tunisian Government to prohibit the importation of arms and munitions of war

by the Island of Djerba, the port of Gabes, or other ports in the south of the Regency.

I have already forwarded the substance of this despatch to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 250.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

(No. 471. Most Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 13, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 467, 468, 469, and 470, all of to-day, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, most confidentially, a full copy of the Treaty signed yesterday between France and Tunis.

The copy from which it is taken was sent to me not long after he had seen me this morning by M. B. St. Hilaire, in an envelope marked "Personnelle et Confidentielle."

It was not very long afterwards followed by an autograph letter, in which his Excellency said that of course he had not yet received the actual Treaty signed by the Bey, and that therefore he could not publish it to-day, nor even read it in the Senate. He consequently begged me to consider it as communicated to me only for myself personally. He added, however, that I might study it and make the general sense of it known to Her Majesty's Government.

Under these circumstances, I feel it my duty to repeat the request I have already made by telegraph, that it may not be allowed to transpire that either I myself or Her Majesty's Government are in possession of a copy of it.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 250.

*Treaty between the French Republic and the Bey of Tunis.*

LE Gouvernement de la République Française et celui de Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis, voulant empêcher à jamais le renouvellement des désordres qui se sont produits récemment sur les frontières des deux Etats et sur le littoral de la Tunisie, et désireux de resserrer leurs anciennes relations d'amitié et de bon voisinage, ont résolu de conclure une Convention à cette fin, dans l'intérêt des deux Hautes Parties Contractantes.

En conséquence, le Président de la République Française a nommé pour son Plénipotentiaire M. le Général Bréard, qui est tombé d'accord avec Son Altesse le Bey sur les stipulations suivantes :—

#### ARTICLE I.

Les Traités de Paix, d'Amitié, et de Commerce, et toutes autres Conventions existant actuellement entre la République Française et Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis sont expressément confirmés et renouvelés.

#### ARTICLE II.

En vue de faciliter au Gouvernement de la République Française l'accomplissement des mesures qu'il doit prendre pour atteindre le but que se proposent les Hautes Parties Contractantes, Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis consent à ce que l'autorité militaire Française fasse occuper les points qu'elle jugera nécessaires pour assurer le rétablissement de l'ordre, et la sécurité des frontières et du littoral.

Cette occupation cessera lorsque les autorités militaires Françaises et Tunisiennes auront reconnu d'un commun accord que l'administration locale est en état de garantir le maintien de l'ordre.

#### ARTICLE III.

Le Gouvernement de la République Française prend l'engagement de prêter un constant appui à Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis contre tout danger qui menacerait la



personne ou la Dynastie de Son Altesse, ou qui compromettrait la tranquillité de ses Etats.

#### ARTICLE IV.

Le Gouvernement de la République Française se porte garant de l'exécution des Traités actuellement existants entre le Gouvernement de la Régence et les diverses Puissances Européennes.

#### ARTICLE V.

Le Gouvernement de la République Française sera représenté auprès de Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis par un Ministre Résident, qui veillera à l'exécution du présent Acte et qui sera l'intermédiaire des rapports du Gouvernement Français avec les autorités Tunisiennes pour toutes les affaires communes aux deux pays.

#### ARTICLE VI.

Les Agents Diplomatiques et Consulaires de la France en pays étrangers seront chargés de la protection des intérêts Tunisiens et des nationaux de la Régence. En retour Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis s'engage à ne conclure aucun acte ayant un caractère international sans en avoir donné connaissance au Gouvernement de la République Française et sans s'être entendu préalablement avec lui.

#### ARTICLE VII.

Le Gouvernement de la République Française et le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis se réservent de fixer d'un commun accord les bases d'une organisation financière de la Régence qui soit de nature à assurer le service de la dette publique et à garantir les droits des créanciers de la Tunisie.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

Une contribution de guerre sera imposée aux tribus insoumises de la frontière et du littoral. Une Convention ultérieure en déterminera le chiffre et le mode de recouvrement, dont le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Bey se porte responsable.

#### ARTICLE IX.

Afin de protéger contre le contrebande des armes et des munitions de guerre les possessions Algériennes de la République Française, le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis s'engage à prohiber toute introduction d'armes ou de munitions de guerre par l'île de Djerba, le port de Gabes, ou les autres ports du sud de la Tunisie.

#### ARTICLE X.

Le présent Traité sera soumis à la ratification du Gouvernement de la République Française, et l'instrument de ratification sera remis à Son Altesse le Bey dans le plus bref délai possible.

Pour copie conforme :

(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.

Le 13 Mai, 1881.

No. 251.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 14.)*

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 10 Mai, 1881.

SON Altesse le Pacha de Tunis vient d'adresser encore à son Altesse le Premier Ministre un télégramme dont voici la traduction :—

"Je ne saurais assez remercier votre Altesse de toutes les marques de bonté qu'elle veut bien me donner. Les deux lettres de votre Altesse en date du 20 Djémazi-ul-ewel me sont parvenues. A propos des remerciements dont parlent les 'Débats,' j'envverrai à votre Altesse une lettre qui lui fournira des détails contraires sur mes réponses.

"Six mille soldats d'infanterie et 1,000 cavaliers sont arrivés à Bizerta. J'ai appris que ces forces passeront à travers les tribus Arouch à Matar, pour aller au Mont Khoumir, et que les Arouchs se réuniraient pour s'opposer au passage des Français.

"J'ai protesté de mon côté."

Je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien faire usage de ce télégramme en cas de besoin.

No. 252.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 14.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 12 Mai, 1881.

JE vous transmets ci-après, pour votre information, trois télégrammes que la Sublime Porte vient de recevoir de son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis :—

"Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"Tunis, le 12 Mai, 1881.

"En confirmant à votre Altesse mon télégramme d'hier l'informant que le Consul de France m'a annoncé ce matin que les troupes resteront au point indiqué par mon télégramme à 20 milles de la capitale pour la facilité des communications avec le chemin de fer pour être à même de repousser les troupes Turques si elles venaient à Tunis.

"J'attends la réponse de votre Altesse.

(Signé)

"MOHAMED-ES-SADEK."

"Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"Tunis, le 12 Mai, 1881.

"Une colonne composée de 6,000 hommes d'infanterie et de la cavalerie est sortie de Bizerte dans la direction de Tunis; elle est maintenant à la distance de 20 milles de la capitale. Ayant fait demander au Consul de France le but de cette marche, il m'a fait répondre qu'ayant appris que des troupes venaient à Tunis, peut-être les troupes Françaises viennent-elles pour les chasser; le but réel des Français est pourtant bien clair.

"J'attends de votre Altesse me télégraphier ce que je dois faire.

(Signé)

"MOHAMED-ES-SADEK."

"Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis à son Altesse le Premier Ministre, Constantinople.

"Tunis, le 12 Mai, 1881.

"Reçu télégramme de votre Altesse du 7 Mai et je la remercie de sa sollicitude pour moi. J'ai également reçu les lettres au sujet des accusations formulées par le 'Journal des Débats' de manière à convaincre votre Altesse du contraire. J'ai appris qu'un nouveau renfort de 6,000 hommes d'infanterie et 1,000 cavaliers est arrivé à Bizerte pour l'expédition contre les Kroumirs; les troupes devant passer par la Province de Matar, les Arabes de cette localité sont décidés à les repousser. J'ai protesté contre ce passage des Français.

(Signé)

"MOHAMED-ES-SADEK."

No. 253.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

(No. 50.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 13, 1881, 10.45 P.M.

MY telegram No. 46.

Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles now reports that he was misinformed about the squadron, and that it only went out to exercise, and has now returned to Toulon.



*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

(No. 47.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 13, 1881, 3.45 P.M.*

THE following are the conditions of the Treaty of yesterday:—

French Protectorate.

Existing Treaties between France and Tunis confirmed; surveillance by France of frontier and sea-coast; mutual agreement for payment of the Tunisian debt.

Arms and ammunition not to be imported into Regency.

Tunis Government not to sign International Convention, or grant commercial or industrial concessions, without sanction of French Representative.

Appointment of French Minister Resident at Tunis.

Tunisian interests abroad to be represented by France.

War indemnity to be levied on frontier tribes, and guaranteed by Bey's Government.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received May 14.)*

(No. 225.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Constantinople, May 14, 1881.*

YOUR telegram No. 313.

Yesterday, Friday, being Turkish Sunday, I was unable to execute your Lordship's instructions about warning the Turks not to prevent the Bey from treating with French. These instructions are now, I presume, superseded, as the Bey appears to have surrendered at discretion to French demands. If, as I gather, the Treaty completely changes the *status quo*, I should be grateful to your Lordship for the fullest and most precise instructions you can give as to language I am to hold should I be compelled to speak at all on the situation now created.

Your Lordship may rely on my discretion in not speaking on the subject unnecessarily.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

(No. 184. Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 9, 1881.*

I CALLED the day before yesterday on M. Cairoli, who had returned to Rome the previous afternoon.

I found his Excellency in considerable agitation over Tunisian affairs.

Two interpellations, his Excellency informed me, having reference to the occupation of Bizerta by the French, were to be addressed to him that afternoon in the Chamber of Deputies (reported in my despatch No. 179 of yesterday's date), and the accounts which had reached the Ministry for Foreign Affairs indicated an intention on the part of the French of marching upon Tunis itself.

He proceeded to speak in a very excited manner as to such a course being pursued by the French Government, which would be at variance, he said, with the spirit of their previous declarations as to the object of the expedition.

I asked his Excellency what were his grounds for supposing the French had this intention, to which he replied that it had been reported from Tunis, but he could not affirm that it had been so officially.

Upon this I ventured to remark that I thought all accounts coming from the Regency, where the public mind appeared to be a good deal heated, should be received with great caution, and I strongly advised his Excellency to be extremely prudent in anything he might say in Parliament.

This, he said, was fully his intention, and, as regarded the policy of the Italian Government, he could only repeat that it was their wish to continue to act in agreement with Her Majesty's Government.

M. Cairoli then informed me that orders had been given that morning for an iron-

*Lord Ampthill to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

E

(No. 249. Confidential. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Berlin, May 8, 1881.*

THE Bey of Tunis has already twice telegraphed to Prince Bismarck for advice and good offices, but, as far as I have been able to learn, without the result he hoped for.

The German Chancellor, whose sympathies are on the side of the French in the Tunis question, has replied, it is said, that the best advice he can give the Bey is to co-operate cordially with the French Government and lend them his assistance, so as to enable them to carry out the task they have undertaken with as little delay as possible.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AMPHILL.



clad (he could not then tell me the name) to proceed to Tunis; but he begged me to keep the fact secret.

In the afternoon, however, his Excellency announced in the Chamber the dispatch of the "Maria Pia."

In reply to my inquiry, his Excellency further told me that the French Government had been duly informed, through the Italian Ambassador in Paris, of the intention to send this vessel, the motive for doing so, viz., the protection of Italian subjects in the case of danger arising for them being at the same time explained.

Your Lordship will have learnt by my despatch No. 176, Most Confidential, of the 5th instant, that Signor Depretis was opposed to sending any Italian ship of war to Tunis, and it does not appear what new incident has since arisen to change the decision of the Cabinet; but Signor Cairoli, in view of the then impending interpellations, may possibly have been anxious to have it in his power to announce some fact to the Chamber which might show that the Italian Government was not less solicitous than other Governments as to the protection of their subjects.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 257.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

(No. 189. Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 12, 1881.*

AS I was proceeding to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs yesterday I met Count Maffei, who told me that M. Cairoli was so engaged that it would be impossible for him to receive me.

Count Maffei then accompanied me to the Embassy, and informed me that the Italian Government had received confirmation of the intelligence announced in the morning papers of the advance of the French troops upon Tunis.

He went on to say that, if they should enter the capital, a fresh attack would certainly be made upon the Ministry in the Chamber, and that it would probably bring about a crisis. He added that M. Cairoli had convened a meeting, which was then assembled, of some of the chiefs of the Left at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in order to decide the attitude to be taken by the Ministry in Parliament.

There was no likelihood, however, he said, of the Government departing from the prudent policy they had hitherto followed. In his opinion the best thing the Bey could have done was, the moment the French had taken possession of Biserta, to endeavour to avert any further calamity by requesting that a Plenipotentiary should be sent to him to treat upon the terms of arrangement.

It was rather a delicate matter, Count Maffei added, for the Italian Government to give advice upon; but he might tell me confidentially that instructions had been sent to the Italian Consul at Tunis to give a cautious hint to the Bey in this sense, and he believed, from General Menabrea's reports, that such a course on the part of the Bey would have commended itself to your Lordship.

Count Maffei requested me to consider what he had said in this conversation as strictly confidential.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 258.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

**E**  
(No. 369.)  
My Lord,

*Constantinople, May 10, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the substance of a note addressed on Saturday last by the French Ambassador to the Foreign Minister relative to the dispatch of troops to Tunis. Your Lordship will observe the phrase that "tout envoi militaire" would be considered as an act of hostility. Rumours were abroad that soldiers were being embarked for Tunis, but the fact was that they were intended for Tripoli.

There were statements also in the newspapers that a considerable force of Turkish

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iron-clads was to be dispatched to Tunis, but the Foreign Minister assured me yesterday that the Ottoman Government only intended to send one or two ships to represent the Turkish flag in Tunisian waters. This, he added, surely they had a right to do.

I need scarcely inform your Lordship that the action of the French has created considerable excitement and indignation amongst the Turks. Apart from the question of right, the manner in which the Turkish Government has been treated, is considered as high-handed and discourteous. Deep disappointment is felt at the Porte that all the Great Powers seem to look on all the French proceedings with indifference. They had hoped that, in this instance, "the concert of Europe" might be applied in their favour.

I have maintained an absolute reserve on the question in my interviews with the Turkish Ministers, but they can seldom refrain from bringing up the subject, and giving vent to complaints at the treatment they are enduring. They have declared to all that they consider Tunis a part of the Ottoman Empire, and that part is being invaded by a Great Power, without exciting the slightest remonstrance on the part of any of the other Powers, whose combined and deep interest in the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire has caused Europe to occupy itself unceasingly with Turkish affairs for several years consecutively.

Such is the Turkish feeling on the subject, which I respectfully submit to your Lordship as information without comment.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

Inclosure in No. 258.

*Memorandum.*

A LA suite des délibérations d'un Conseil des Ministres, le Gouvernement de la République Française m'a donné l'ordre de faire à votre Excellence la communication suivante :—

La France étant en guerre avec une partie de la Tunisie, tout envoi militaire de la part de la Turquie sera considéré comme un acte d'hostilité. L'escadre Française a reçu l'ordre d'arrêter sur son passage l'escadre Turque, et d'empêcher tout débarquement sur n'importe quel point de la Régence.

Constantinople, le 7 Mai, 1881.

No. 259.

*Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

E  
(No. 205. Confidential.)  
My Lord,

*St. Petersburg, May 11, 1881.*

IN course of conversation to-day with M. de Giers, his Excellency informed me that the Imperial Government would observe a reserved attitude with regard to the differences which have arisen between France and Tunis, watching, however, the course of events in view of Russian interests being affected. He said Russia had not much interest in the question provided that it did not give rise to further complications.

His Excellency also informed me that the Emperor recommended Reouf Pasha, at the review which His Majesty held to-day, to counsel the Porte to observe a prudent policy with regard to Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 260.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

E  
(No. 474.)  
My Lord,

*Paris, May 14, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note respecting the assurances given by France with regard to Tunis, which I have addressed to the French Government in

obedience to the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch No. 453 of yesterday.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 260.

*Lord Lyons to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.*

M. le Ministre,

*Paris, May 14, 1881.*

I DID not fail to report to Her Majesty's Government the observations which your Excellency did me the honour to make to me on the 10th instant, during the conversation I had with you on that day, when I communicated to you the despatch addressed to me by Earl Granville on the 7th instant, respecting the affairs of Tunis.

The conversation included several topics of a very important character, but as your Excellency intimated that you should probably make Lord Granville's despatch the subject of a communication in writing, Her Majesty's Government deem it more convenient and more respectful to the Government of France to await your Excellency's written observations before commencing any further discussion of the topics in question.

In the meantime, however, and while awaiting the further communication just alluded to, Her Majesty's Government deem it desirable to place clearly on record the assurances they have received from the Government of France as to the nature and extent of any arrangement that may be concluded with the Bey of Tunis.

Your Excellency assured me that all the Treaties between Tunis and other Powers would be maintained and respected. But Lord Granville notices that you spoke of possible revision of some of the Treaties, and change of the parties on whom they were binding. Her Majesty's Government would be glad to be assured that in the view of the French Government itself, all rights now enjoyed by foreigners will be left intact, that foreigners will enjoy the same freedom of commercial intercourse as hitherto, that no attempt will be made to secure exclusive or differential privileges for the subjects or citizens of one country over those of others, and that the position of the creditors of the Regency will not be weakened.

In the conversation on the 10th instant, as on several previous occasions, your Excellency disclaimed any intention of conquest or annexation on the part of France.

Your Excellency had a short time before stated to me that the French Government had certainly no intention of undertaking the work of forming a port at Bizerta, although private French enterprise might possibly at some future date be devoted to making improvements there for the purpose of a commercial harbour.

In submitting, by order of Her Majesty's Government, the preceding considerations to your Excellency, I beg you to accept the renewed assurances, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 261.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

(No. 476.)  
My Lord,

*Paris, May 14, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, announcements that M. Roustan has been promoted to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary of the First Class, and that he has been appointed French Minister Resident at Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.



*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of May 14, 1881.*

*Paris, le 13 Mai, 1881.*

PAR Décret en date du 13 Mai, 1881, rendu sur la proposition du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, M. Roustan (Théodore-Justin-Dominique), Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Seconde Classe, a été promu à la Première Classe de son grade.

Par un autre Décret en date du même jour, M. Roustan a été appelé aux fonctions de Ministre Résident de la République Française à Tunis.

No. 262.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 16.)*

(No. 48.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 16, 1881.*

I HAVE applied officially for copy of the Convention signed on the 12th May, and it has been refused by the Minister, acting, as he states, under M. Roustan's order.

I can confirm conditions I have already reported to your Lordship, having myself perused the original document, but I have reason to suspect M. Roustan is seeking to introduce some alterations.

No. 263.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)*

(No. 67. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 10, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day forwarded to your Lordship a telegram to the following effect:—

No. 42. The column of troops to which I referred in my telegram No. 41 of yesterday, as being only 10 miles off, altered their course, this morning, and proceeded to Jedaida.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 264.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)*

(No. 194.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 13, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 191 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inclose herewith an article from the "Opinione," with a précis translation, and an article, with translation, from the "Popolo Romano," relative to the grave impression produced in Italy by the Circular of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 9th instant upon the affairs of Tunis.

Last evening there were meetings of Deputies of the various factions in the Chamber to discuss the course to be pursued towards the Government under present circumstances, and it is announced that some Parliamentary action in the shape of motions or interpellations will be taken in the sitting of to-day.

I ought already to have mentioned that, before the appearance of this Circular, interpellations on the policy of the Government in regard to Tunis, by Count Mamiani, Marchese Vitelleschi, and Dr. Pantaleone had been fixed for discussion in the Senate for to-morrow, the 14th instant, but it will depend, I presume, upon the upshot of the proceedings in the Chamber to-day whether these interpellations are proceeded with or not.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

*Précis Translation of an Article in the "Opinione" of May 13, 1881.*

THE FRENCH CIRCULAR.—We have never cherished any illusions as to the intentions of the French and the results of their Tunisian expedition.

Our Government has shown itself very ingenuous respecting the French declarations, or else, preoccupied only concerning its own maintenance in office, has concealed the truth from Parliament and the country.

The disembarkment at Biserta and the march on Tunis show clearly enough the objects of the French expedition. Now we have the Circular of M. de St. Hilaire which has produced a deep and painful impression in Italy. It is not enough that the Bey should satisfy French demands. The Regency must acknowledge only French influence within its borders. This is stated with open allusions to Italy as having inspired the Bey in his aspirations after independence.

We can only conclude that the insults heaped on Italy by the French papers have been officially inspired.

The subtle distinctions drawn by our Government journals in this regard do not affect the question.

After ten years of preparations following the disastrous war of 1870, France wants to appear again as a great and active Power. The principle of self preservation warns the Republic that by this means alone can it avert the perils of an internal crisis. Why has Italy been chosen as the object of this manifestation? Because a weaker adversary must be attacked, and Germany cannot be meddled with. A policy hostile to Italy may be efficacious in drawing the Clericals and Legitimists nearer to the side of the Republican Government, which requires their support against the growing power of democracy and the revolutionary party. Again the French middle classes regard the growing prosperity of Italy as a menace to France. France will return to her old policy of the monarchy of July and of M. Thiers.

France does not think it convenient that Italy should emerge from the condition of a second or third-rate Power.

We still examine the question calmly in spite of the excitement of popular agitation; and we are persuaded that France does not desire a war with Italy. We see clearly enough that the French Government requires some military prestige in view of the future elections. This they look for in Tunis, where no resistance is possible. But the military operations in Tunis have resolved themselves into a mere parade.

We do not think France will seek for real enemies to fight against, especially in Italy. However great our isolation may be, a war in Europe would bring about such complications as would probably involve other nations in the contest in spite of themselves; and Italy, if assailed, would find force in her patriotism to make the requisite sacrifices in her defence. We may, therefore, put aside the question of a war between France and Italy.

But France will seek in the field of diplomacy what she cannot achieve on the field of battle. Will a diplomatic victory over the Bey of Tunis suffice to allay the agitation stirred up latterly, particularly if it be a bloodless conquest? Such a victory must be sought at the expense of Italy, and our isolation in Europe deprives us of any ally to support or defend, whatever Italian interests may be made to suffer in Tunis.

It is vain to shut our eyes to the causes of this miserable state of things. What has the Left done for us in five years during which it has governed the country?

[The article concludes with the usual abuse of the Government.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 264.

*Extract from the "Popolo Romano" of May 13, 1881.*

(Translation.)

THE FRENCH CIRCULAR.—The painful impression which we experienced at the first moment of reading the Circular note of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs has not diminished after the lapse of twenty-four hours.

Unless we deceive ourselves—and we shall be glad if such is the case—that Circular is one of exceptional importance.

From the moment that it has produced such a deep impression on us, who, during this disagreement, and in this time of irritation of mind between the two countries about



an unfortunate question, have always sought to bring calmness to bear, in the hope of cutting it short and bringing it to an end,—on us who profess the highest esteem for the gifts of the experienced statesman who has the direction of foreign affairs in France, it is impossible to conceal its gravity.

It is true that the main object of the Circular is to reassure the Powers as to intentions of France in her Tunisian policy; but, frankly, the allusions which abound in it, and which are expressed in language which we are unaccustomed to meet with in diplomatic books, are such as probably overstep the bounds to which the compiler of the note must have wished to confine himself.

We are willing to admit that the excitement to which public opinion in France is at present a prey, about the so-called negotiations or political intrigues of the Italian Consul, should have affected the temperature even of the Paris Foreign Office; but we cannot hide from ourselves, on the other hand, that the note bears the signature of an old and tried diplomatist, who is, perhaps, the most moderate, the most inclined to pacific and conciliatory opinions, of the French statesmen.

As for us—who make it a rule never to risk our judgment prematurely, and to proceed with the greatest reserve in considering delicate questions or important events, as we have shown also on this difficult occasion—the more we reflect on this Circular, the more inevitable seems the dilemma before us.

One of these two things:—either M. de St. Hilaire has, among the 300 and upward documents which form the Yellow Book, of which this note may be said to be the corollary, found some impartial and incontrovertible proof of these "suggestions" and of these "faithless intrigues" on the part of the Italian Government and its Representatives, in which case the language and the allusions, if not appreciable, become to a certain extent comprehensible,—or M. de St. Hilaire has not irrefragable proofs and documents which disprove the upright conduct of the Italian Government, and he has proceeded entirely on a "moral conviction" derived from the reports of his Consul or from some generic accusations, in which case, in truth, his note cannot bear the impartial criticism of the European political world.

Since we are on the subject of intrigues and suggestions, let us consider the question impartially, and come to an understanding as to the true meaning of these terms. We, who are opposed, by principle and by firm conviction, to an expansive Colonial policy, can speak dispassionately.

Speaking, therefore, dispassionately, we assert, that if by negotiations and intrigues are meant that minute course of action which all Consuls do their best to carry on in Oriental countries, and which is in accordance with the customs of these Governments, it is not a case of "faithless intrigue" or "unprovoked war," since M. Roustan, whose abilities are well known, will have done neither more nor less than what our Consul will have tried to do to facilitate the fulfilment of his duties.

We must, therefore, turn to the Yellow Book to find on what bases, on what facts, and on what criticism are founded the serious charges and judgments of the honourable Minister in his note.

In the meantime it is evident that we must maintain a dignified reserve, and not consider ourselves humiliated in our own eyes, for the honour and dignity of nations are placed at a height to which allusions and darts, more or less diplomatic, cannot possibly attain.

So much for the foreign question. As for the internal question, we can only repeat what we have said a million times. The measures that were necessary then, let M. Cairoli be assured, are necessary now; and to allow the propitious opportunities to pass away, means to allow them to drag on into inopportunities, which usually reduces to inefficacy the noblest and most sapient deliberations.

No. 265.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to send herewith to your Lordship copies of two notes on the subject of Tunis, which I have received to-day from M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.

The first, which is dated the day before yesterday, comments upon the despatch from your Lordship of the 7th instant, of which I gave M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a copy on the 10th instant.

Paris, May 16, 1881.

The second, which is dated to-day, is in answer to the note which I addressed to his Excellency by your Lordship's order on the 14th instant.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 265.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to Lord Lyons.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Paris, le 14 Mai, 1881.

VOUS avez bien voulu me communiquer le 10 de ce mois une dépêche adressée à votre Excellence par le Comte Granville sous la date du 7, et concernant les affaires de Tunis. Le document témoigne de l'accueil favorable fait par le Cabinet de Londres aux indications que j'ai été en mesure de vous donner, touchant les desseins du Gouvernement de la République de ne point s'emparer de la souveraineté de la Tunisie, de ne réunir aucune partie de ce pays au territoire Français, et après avoir châtié la tribu agressive des Kroumirs, d'obtenir du Bey des garanties suffisantes pour note sécurité dans l'avenir. Le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de la Reine a bien voulu vous faire savoir que le Gouvernement Anglais verrait sans jalousie l'établissement de l'influence Française en Tunisie, à condition qu'elle s'exercât d'une manière conforme aux droits créés par les Traités, et ne portât point préjudice aux intérêts légitimes des sujets Britanniques. Mentionnant, ensuite, les appels adressés à l'Angleterre ainsi qu'à plusieurs autres Puissances, soit par le Bey de Tunis, soit par la Porte Ottomane, Lord Granville vous déclarait que le Cabinet de Londres, sans pouvoir les ignorer entièrement, n'avait cependant point la pensée de présenter une proposition formelle de médiation ou de bons offices, à moins d'y être convié par le Gouvernement Français aussi bien que par le Bey. Enfin, sa Seigneurie vous invitait à me dire que si le Gouvernement de la Reine pouvait contribuer de quelque façon à la prompt solution des difficultés pendantes entre la France et le Bey, il y emploierait très volontiers son influence dans la forme que je vous indiquerais comme pouvant être la plus utile et la plus agréable pour nous.

J'ai le devoir, M. l'Ambassadeur, de vous exprimer la satisfaction sincère qu'une communication conçue en termes aussi amicaux a causée au Gouvernement de la République. Je suis personnellement heureux de penser que les éclaircissements qu'en plusieurs occasions j'ai pu fournir à votre Excellence sur la nature et l'objet de nos opérations en Tunisie, ont eu pour effet de faire envisager notre entreprise sous son véritable jour par votre Gouvernement. Grâce à la rapidité avec laquelle elle a été conduite, nous avons atteint déjà le but principal que nous nous proposons, et qui était d'obtenir du Bey, pour l'avenir, des assurances effectives contre le retour des difficultés récentes. Le Traité signé à Tunis le 12 Mai y pourvoit d'une manière que nous jugeons suffisante, et cet acte, en garantissant les intérêts Français, consacre explicitement par une clause spéciale, les droits de toutes les nationalités étrangères. J'ai eu l'honneur de vous donner connaissance du Traité au moment qu'il venait d'être conclu; votre Gouvernement, je n'en doute point, reconnaîtra facilement qu'il ne porte aucune atteinte aux privilèges dont les autres pays sont légitimement en possession, et qu'il tient compte ainsi dans une juste mesure des préoccupations indiquées dans la dépêche du Comte Granville. Persuadé qu'aucun malentendu ne saurait se produire à ce sujet entre le Cabinet de Londres et nous, je ne puis que vous prier, en présence des résultats actuellement acquis, de transmettre à votre Gouvernement l'expression de nos remerciements pour les assurances de bon vouloir et les offres courtoises dont vous avez été autorisé à faire part au Gouvernement Français.

Agréez, &c.  
(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 265.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to Lord Lyons.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Paris, le 16 Mai, 1881.

DANS un office que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser sous la date du 14 de ce mois, vous vous référez à plusieurs entretiens que j'ai eus avec votre Excellence, et au cours desquels j'ai été amené à lui donner certaines indications concernant la politique du Gouvernement Français à l'égard de la Tunisie. Vous faites allusion notamment à notre

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conversation du 10 Mai, pendant laquelle vous avez bien voulu me communiquer une dépêche de Lord Granville datée du 7, et vous me rappelez que je vous avais promis de répondre par écrit à cette communication. Ma réponse, que je n'ai pu faire aussitôt que j'aurais voulu, doit être actuellement entre vos mains; j'ai la confiance qu'elle vous mettra en mesure de rassurer tout à fait le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de la Reine sur les points qui semblaient particulièrement le préoccuper. Néanmoins, je saisis avec plaisir l'occasion qui m'est offerte par votre Excellence pour revenir une fois de plus avec elle sur ce que j'ai pu lui faire connaître déjà de nos vues en ce qui concerne l'avenir de la Tunisie.

Vous voulez bien constater tout d'abord que je vous ai déclaré que les Conventions existantes entre la Tunisie et les Puissances étrangères seraient maintenues et respectées. Je vous réitère d'autant plus volontiers cette assurance que par un Article spécial de notre Traité avec le Bey, la République Française se Porte garante de l'exécution de toutes les Conventions de ce genre qui existent aujourd'hui. Il est vrai que dans nos récents entretiens je vous ai parlé incidemment de la possibilité d'une révision de quelques-unes de ces Conventions.

La franchise avec laquelle je m'expliquais envers vous m'amenaient naturellement à prévoir une éventualité semblable, car je ne pouvais me dissimuler ni dissimuler à votre Excellence les obligations qui incomberont par la force des choses au Gouvernement Français en conséquence de la position qui lui est désormais assignée en Tunisie. Il est bien évident que de même que le Gouvernement Anglais, lorsqu'il a assumé la responsabilité de l'administration de pays étrangers, a compris qu'il était tenu de modifier l'état de choses existant, et de procurer aux populations dont il prenait la tutelle l'avantage d'un Gouvernement civilisé et régulier, de même aussi la France, entre les mains de laquelle se trouve actuellement placée la direction supérieure des affaires en Tunisie, ne saurait se dérober au devoir d'appeler ce pays au partage des bienfaits dont notre administration a déjà doté l'Algérie. Mais il n'est pas moins manifeste que cette œuvre ne pourra être accomplie que graduellement, et qu'il faudra bien du temps encore avant que la Tunisie ne soit mise en état de participer à un régime semblable à celui des nations Européennes. En tout cas, lorsque les progrès que nous devons poursuivre ne pourront être obtenus qu'au prix de certaines modifications qui dérogeraient à un ordre de choses consacré aujourd'hui par des Conventions conclues avec les Puissances étrangères, notre ferme intention est de ne procéder jamais aux changements nécessaires que d'accord avec ces Puissances, et en vertu d'une entente amiable avec elles. Les droits et privilèges commerciaux et autres, énumérés dans l'office de votre Excellence, subsisteront donc intacts, en tant qu'ils sont garantis par des Traités, jusqu'à ce que des Conventions nouvelles, librement consenties, aient été substituées aux arrangements existants. Pour ce qui concerne spécialement les créanciers de la Régence, il est certain que les sécurités dont ils sont nantis actuellement ne seront en rien affaiblies, et que tout au contraire nous nous efforcerons de les fortifier autant que possible.

Votre Excellence rappelle qu'en plusieurs occasions, dans mes entretiens avec elle, j'ai repoussé l'idée d'une conquête ou d'une annexion à la France d'une partie quelconque du territoire Tunisien. Je ne fais aucune difficulté de vous répéter ici ce que je vous ai dit déjà, et je puis vous affirmer que nos arrangements avec le Bey ne comprennent aucune stipulation qui ne soit conforme aux assurances que je vous ai données. Je réponds implicitement ainsi, et d'une manière qui, j'aime à le croire, vous paraîtra concluante, à vos observations concernant le port de Bizerte. Nous n'avons pas plus le désir de nous annexer Bizerte que tout autre point de la Tunisie. Sans doute, comme je vous l'ai spontanément indiqué, il est possible que nous soyons amenés à favoriser le développement commercial de ce port, et à encourager les tentatives qui seraient faites dans l'intérêt même de la Régence pour en améliorer les conditions matérielles. Mais quelles que soient les entreprises que des Sociétés privées veuillent tenter à Bizerte, il n'entre nullement dans nos projets de dépenser aujourd'hui les sommes énormes et de commencer les travaux gigantesques qui seraient nécessaires pour transformer cette position en un port militaire pouvant servir de base à des opérations de guerre maritime. Là, comme dans le reste de la Régence, l'action de la France ne s'exercera qu'en vue de progrès pacifiques qui devront profiter aux autres nations aussi bien qu'à nous-mêmes. La seule conquête que nous méditons est celle de la civilisation dans un pays encore trop arriéré, et j'ai la confiance que l'Angleterre nous prêterait, dans une œuvre avantageuse à tous les intérêts, le concours des sympathies sincères que nous nous croyons particulièrement en droit d'attendre d'elle, parce que nous les éprouvons nous-mêmes à son égard.

Agréez, &c.  
(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.

No. 266.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 329.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, May 17, 1881, 6:37 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 225 of 14th: Tunis.

I send for your guidance following résumé of instructions sent to Lord Lyons on the 13th:—

Her Majesty's Government await promised written statement of views of French Government before further discussion, but Lord Lyons is to record in a note to French Government their verbal assurances and views of Her Majesty's Government thereon.

French assurances were that French Government have no idea of conquest or annexation, and no design of using Bizerta for a naval port, though private French enterprise might hereafter improve it for commercial harbour; that existing Treaty rights of foreign countries and subjects will be respected and preserved.

Her Majesty's Government would be glad to be assured, with reference to mention by French Minister of Foreign Affairs of possible revision of Treaties and change of parties on whom binding, that all rights now enjoyed by foreigners will be left intact; that they will enjoy same commercial freedom as hitherto; that no attempt will be made to secure exclusive or differential privileges for any nationality, and that position of creditors of Regency will not be weakened.

It is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to include in the Tunis papers, to be at once laid before Parliament, despatches with regard to language held on the subject by Lord Salisbury to M. Waddington at Berlin in 1878.

No. 267.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18.)*

(No. 195.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 14, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 194 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that three interpellations were yesterday announced in the Chamber. The first, by Marchese Rudini (Right)—"Whether the President of the Council had news of the occupation of Tunis by the French troops;" the second, by Signor Billia (Centre)—"Whether, in view of the facts just come to light, the Government intends to maintain or to modify the line of policy hitherto followed;" and the third, by Signor Crispi—"On the intentions of the Government of the King as regards international policy."

All these questions were intended in a hostile sense to the Cabinet, which, it was expected, would have been prepared to meet them at once; but the President of the Council declared that, availing himself of the rules of the House, he reserved for twenty-four hours, that is, until the sitting of to-day, to say if and when he would reply to them.

In the meantime, the excitement on this question is by no means diminished by the news of the signature of the Convention between the Bey and the French Plenipotentiary, the principal terms of which have now become public.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 268.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18.)*

(No. 197.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 14, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of a paragraph from last night's "Diritto," relative to communications which have taken place in the last few days between the Italian Ambassador in Paris and the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which the latter, while renewing his declarations excluding any intention of annexation or permanent occupation, expressed the desire for the maintenance of good relations with Italy, and showed himself desirous of removing any misunderstanding which some of the phrases in

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his recent Circular might have produced, affirming that they were not to be understood as applying to the Italian Government.

Count Maffei, whom I have seen this morning, confirmed the accuracy of this intelligence, and read a telegram sent *en clair* by General Cialdini stating that instructions had been sent to the French Ambassador in Rome "to dissipate any misunderstanding as to certain phrases in the Circular which were not to be taken as applicable to Italy."

Count Maffei added that the Marquis de Noailles had been with M. Cairoli this morning, for the purpose, he presumed, of making this communication.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 268.

Extract from the "*Diritto*" of May 14, 1881.

(Translation.)

DECLARATIONS OF M. BARTHÉLEMY DE ST. HILAIRE.—It has come to our knowledge, during the last few days, that General Cialdini has had several interviews with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs, after renewing his declarations excluding every thought of annexation or of permanent occupation, expressed an earnest wish of remaining in good relations with Italy, and showed himself to be anxious at the same time to dissipate the misunderstandings to which some phrases of his Circular may have given rise, asserting that he never had the slightest idea of alluding to the King's Government.

No. 269.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18.)

(No. 49.)

(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, May 17, 1881.

THE Heir-Apparent is reported to have refused to confirm with his signature the Protectorate and other conditions of the Treaty of the 12th, which were submitted to him for that purpose.

It is also asserted that the President of the Municipality of Tunis, who was the only member of the Council of State who to the last moment advised the Bey not to sign the Treaty of the 12th, will be called to account for his firm attitude on that occasion.

In the event of extreme necessity, my intervention in the interest of humanity would probably be solicited.

I respectfully beg your Lordship's instructions how to act in such a case.

No. 270.

Musurus Pasha to Earl Granville.—(Received May 18.)

My Lord,

Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 18 Mai, 1881.

EN conformité des ordres de mon Gouvernement, j'ai l'honneur de communiquer ci-joint à votre Excellence copie de l'acte de protestation de la Sublime Porte contre la validité du Traité signé le 12 de ce mois par Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis sous la pression exercée par la présence de l'armée Française.

Je saisis, &c.  
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 270.

Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 16 Mai, 1881.

NOUS n'avons point manqué, à l'occasion des événements qui viennent de se produire en Tunisie, de signaler, à plusieurs reprises, à l'attention des Gouvernements Signataires du Traité de Berlin les droits souverains pleins et entiers de la Sublime Porte

sur cette province, partie intégrante de l'Empire Ottoman, droits établis *ab antiquo*, exercés par ce dernier sans interruption jusqu'à ce jour, et reconnus par les Puissances en général.

Nous n'avons pas manqué non plus, aussi bien avant qu'après l'entrée des troupes Françaises dans la Tunisie, de proposer une entente amiable entre la Sublime Porte et le Gouvernement de la République en vue de concilier nos droits avec les intérêts de la France et de satisfaire ainsi aux plaintes Françaises formulées par celle-ci contre les incursions de quelques tribus Berbères, incursions que les autorités Tunisiennes s'étaient, dès l'origine du conflit, déclarées prêtes à réprimer sans plus de délai.

De leur côté, le Pacha de Tunis et la population, confiée par Firman Impérial à son administration, ont fait appel, comme il était de leur devoir de le faire, à la Cour Souveraine pour lui exposer la situation critique où ils se trouvaient en présence de la marche en avant des troupes Françaises dans le pays, et pour lui demander instamment de leur venir en aide en sa qualité de leur maître légitime.

Nos propositions éminemment conciliantes et les preuves irréfutables que nous avons présentées à l'appui de nos droits en question n'ont point été entendues; et même le Gouvernement de la République Française a cru devoir décliner l'existence de tous les liens de sujétion séculaire qui unissent cette province à l'Empire Ottoman, en mettant en avant la soi-disant indépendance de ce pays, et passer, ainsi, outre à toutes nos objections, malgré même les protestations du Gouverneur-Général et de la population, en occupant successivement la plus grande partie du territoire de Tunis et en nous défendant, en dernier lieu, d'une manière péremptoire et menaçante, l'envoi d'un seul de nos bâtiments sur les lieux.

Comme complément à cette manière de procéder que nous ne saurions nous empêcher, à notre regret, de considérer comme étant absolument contraire à toutes les obligations internationales, le Gouvernement de la République vient de présenter aux Chambres Françaises le Traité qu'il a conclu le 12 de ce mois avec Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis, Traité auquel celui-ci a dû forcément se soumettre en présence de la pression exercée sur le pays et du danger imminent qui le menaçait.

Nous devons à nous-mêmes et à nos devoirs envers le pays de récuser ce document, dont toutes les clauses renversent l'ordre légitime des choses établi en Tunisie et portent la plus grave atteinte à la souveraineté et à l'intégrité de l'Empire, garanties par les Traités.

En conséquence, la Sublime Porte se fait un devoir de protester énergiquement et de la manière la plus solennelle contre la validité de ce Traité, le déclarant conclu dans des conditions anormales et attentatoires aux droits du Sultan, et dès lors, comme n'ayant à ses yeux et à ceux de Son Altesse le Pacha et de la population Tunisienne, sujette de Sa Majesté Impériale, aucune valeur ni force de loi, tant dans son ensemble que dans chacune de ses parties.

Je vous invite à communiquer officiellement et sans le moindre retard la présente dépêche protestative à son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique.

No. 271.

Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, May 18.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople le 15 Mai, 1881.

JE m'empresse de transmettre ci-après à votre Excellence le télégramme que Son Altesse le Pacha de Tunis nous a adressé à la date d'hier:—

"J'ai informé votre Altesse que le Général Commandant la colonne Française qui se trouvait, ainsi que je l'ai annoncé à votre Altesse, à la Gedeida, s'est approché Jeudi soir de ma résidence; il est venu ensuite à mon Palais, accompagné d'un corps de cavalerie, et a soumis à ma signature un Traité de Protectorat en me déclarant qu'il ne quitterait le Palais qu'avec ma réponse, pour laquelle il ne m'a accordé que quatre heures. Me voyant sous la pression de la force par la présence d'une armée près de ma résidence, j'ai dû, pour l'honneur et pour éviter une effusion de sang, signer ce Traité, sans examen ni discussion aucune, en lui déclarant que je signe contraint par la force."

Comme vous le voyez, le Pacha déclare catégoriquement qu'il a signé le document en question malgré lui et sous l'empire de la pression qu'on exerçait sur son Altesse.

Se conformant à la teneur de vos divers télégrammes, la Sublime Porte avait prévenu Méhemmed Sudik Pacha qu'il ne devait accepter ni signer aucun Traité sans en avoir référé au préalable à la Cour Souveraine, et l'avait engagé en même temps à prévenir de ce



fait le Consul-Général d'Angleterre à Tunis, et de se concerter même, au besoin, avec cet Agent.

Aujourd'hui on force le Gouverneur-Général par des procédés violents à apposer sa signature à un Traité qui renverse de fond en comble l'ordre des choses établi à Tunis, et l'on viole entièrement le *statu quo* à la modification duquel le Cabinet Britannique avait déclaré ne pouvoir consentir.

En tout cas, un événement aussi grave et inattendu ne saurait, croyons-nous, passer inaperçu aux yeux de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Veuillez donc bien le signaler à l'attention la plus sérieuse de Lord Granville, et lui dire que, dans notre conviction, sa Seigneurie ne pourrait voir d'un œil indifférent une manière d'agir aussi contraire au droit des gens, ainsi qu'aux intérêts généraux, et qu'elle voudra bien enfin user de sa médiation pour amener l'entente que nous avons tant de fois proposée.

Nous attendons avec la plus vive impatience les mesures que le Gouvernement Britannique compte prendre pour amener la modification d'un Traité qui, comme je viens de le dire, méconnaît non seulement les principes du droit international, mais encore est de nature à créer un triste précédent.

No. 272.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 25.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, May 18, 1881.*

YOUR telegram No. 49 of yesterday.

Cannot give you instructions without knowing more precisely the object with which your intervention will be asked.

No. 273.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 378.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 18, 1881.*

THE Turkish Ambassador placed in my hands to-day the letter of which I inclose a copy,\* together with a telegram addressed to him by the Porte, complaining of the proceedings of France with regard to Tunis, and formally protesting against the validity of the Treaty concluded on the 12th instant between the French Republic and the Bey of Tunis.

I told Musurus Pasha that I would submit to my colleagues the document he had communicated to me.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 274.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Goschen.*

(No. 379.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 18, 1881.*

MUSURUS PASHA communicated to me to-day a telegraphic despatch from the Porte, dated the 15th instant, of which a copy is inclosed,† giving the text of a telegram from the Bey of Tunis relative to the circumstances under which he signed the Treaty with the French General, and requesting the mediation of Her Majesty's Government in order to bring about an understanding, as already proposed by the Porte.

I told the Turkish Ambassador that I would communicate the contents of the despatch from the Porte to my colleagues; but I called his Excellency's attention to a passage of it in which it is stated that Her Majesty's Government had declared that they could not consent to a modification of the *status quo* in Tunis. I pointed out to his

• No. 270.

† No. 271.

Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had only said that they were favourable to its maintenance, but that they had never stated that they would not consent to any change in it.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 275.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 19.)*

(No. 199.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 15, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an official announcement in last night's "Dritto," together with translation, relative to the recent communications which have passed between the Italian and French Governments, upon the Circular of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 9th instant, and the Treaty between France and Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 275.

*Extract from the "Dritto" of May 15, 1881.*

(Translation.)

TUNIS.—The following, which we publish here to-day, is a simple record, and we make no comment on it.

Public opinion in Italy has lately been greatly preoccupied about two things—M. de Barthélemy St. Hilaire's circular of the 9th May, and the signature of the Treaty between France and the Bey of Tunis.

Being made aware by the King's Ambassador of the excitement caused in Italy by some sentences of the Circular, the French Government wished to remove that impression by means of a communication which the Ambassador of the Republic was charged to make to the Government of the King.

The Marquis de Noailles went to-day to the Consulta, and communicated to M. Cairoli a despatch from M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, the substance of which had already been announced by General Cialdini yesterday. "We have never" (so runs the declaration of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs) "considered or treated Tunisian affairs except exclusively from the point of view of our relations with the local administration, and I could never have intended, by means of an indirect and discourteous allusion, to create a difference with a friendly Government with which we wish to remain on terms of perfect good faith. It has been precisely one of the effects of our efforts to remove all cause for misunderstanding between Italy and ourselves. I beg that you will give this assurance to M. Cairoli, telling him that we will be careful on our part to give no cause calculated to prevent the mutual relations between the two Governments, and the two countries from preserving that courteous and cordial character which is to the common interest of each."

Detailed reassurances were given by the French to the Italian Government with respect to the Treaty even before it was signed. On the 11th, when the Tunis undertaking was on the point of being ended, the King's Ambassador had an interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic, which he reported in a telegram of the same day.

"M. de St. Hilaire," (so ran the telegram of General Cialdini) "says that France proposes the conclusion of a Treaty to the Bey. She will not impose a war indemnity, confining herself to levying a fine from the tribe of the Kroumirs."

"The military occupation will cease, and the whole country, including Bizerta, shall be evacuated, as soon as the execution of the Treaty is assured. The French Government has no thought of the annexation of Tunis, or of any part of it, except a few places in the Kroumir's country. The provisional occupation of the Bardo and of Tunis will only take place in the event of it proving necessary in order to obtain the assent of the Bey."

Such were, on the 11th May, the declarations of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Treaty was signed the next day, and we do not yet know the text of it.

A telegram of last night, however, has given us the declaration respecting the

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We here reproduce the summary given by the telegram :—

"The Government cannot communicate to the Senate the official text of the Treaty concluded with the Bey, but it will be shortly submitted for the ratification of the two Chambers. The spirit of the Treaty can, however, be made known.

"From the military point of view the Treaty assures to us the right of occupying such positions as the French military authorities may think necessary for the maintenance of order and for our safety.

"The French Government guarantees to the Bey the safety of his person, of his State, and of his dynasty.

"From the European point of view, the French Government assumes the responsibility of all Treaties actually existing between the Bey and European Powers.

"The Bey binds himself for the future not to conclude any international Convention without previous agreement with the French Government.

"French Diplomatic Agents will take upon themselves the care of Tunisian interests in foreign countries.

"The financial system of the Government shall be regulated by France, in concert with the Bey, to assure a better performance of the State service of the Regency.

"A latter Convention will determine the amount and mode of payment of the war indemnity to be paid by tribes which did not revolt, for which the Bey's Government will make itself responsible.

"Lastly, the Government of the Bey pledges itself to prevent the introduction, on the southern frontier of Tunis, of arms or ammunition, which are a permanent danger for Algeria."

The impression caused on us by the declarations of M. Ferry is vivid and profound. Our belief and our hope is that, when men turn their minds to a calm consideration of the facts and of the situation, the general opinion will soon fix itself on this formula, which alone seems to us to be just and correct.

The Treaty of the 12th May throws on France, and on France alone, a grave responsibility before the whole of Europe, and not before Italy alone; which latter, conscious of her own particular interests and of the rights which belong to her as well as to other Powers, has, and ought to preserve, her liberty of appreciation in all its fulness and entirety.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.*—(Received May 20.)

(No. 490.)  
My Lord,

*Paris, May 19, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the text of the Treaty which was signed by the Bey of Tunis, and, on the part of the French Government, by General Bréard, on the 12th of this month.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 276.

*Treaty between the French Republic and the Bey of Tunis, signed May 12, 1881.*

[See Inclosure in No. 250.]

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.*—(Received May 20.)

(No. 50.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 19, 1881.*

SHOULD notice be taken by the press of the refuge obtained at this Consulate by the President of the Municipality, I beg to say that I have come to an amicable settlement of the affair.

*Earl Granville to M. Challemel-Lacour.\**

M. l'Ambassadeur.

*Foreign Office, May 20, 1881.*

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration the notes from M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire on the subject of Tunis, of which copies have been received by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, and have also doubtless been furnished to your Excellency.

In his note of the 14th instant M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire expresses his sincere satisfaction at the friendly communication which Lord Lyons had made to him on the 10th instant in accordance with my instructions, and states that he is personally happy to think that the explanations which on several occasions he has communicated to his Excellency on the nature and object of the French operations in Tunis have had the effect of causing the enterprise to be regarded in its true light by Her Majesty's Government; and he remarks that the Treaty with Tunis, the substance of which he has communicated to his Excellency, will be readily recognized as in no way affecting the privileges legitimately possessed by other countries.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire concludes by expressing the thanks of his Government for the assurances of good-will and courteous offers which Lord Lyons conveyed to him.

Her Majesty's Government are happy to receive and to reciprocate these expressions of friendly feeling. It would be difficult to overrate the importance they attach to the excellent relations which exist between this country and France, the value of which is not confined to the respective nations; but they would be wanting in frankness if they allowed M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to remain under the impression that the proceedings of the French in Tunis have produced a favourable effect on public opinion in this country.

Her Majesty's Government do not wish to lay too much stress on inconsistencies of language in conversation, or on the various reasons which have been given at Paris and at Tunis for French intervention, first as a protection against the alleged designs of the Sultan for the Bey's deposition, and secondly for the punishment of the turbulent frontier tribes. But it can hardly be doubted that the Treaty with Tunis goes far beyond any question of the security of the frontier, and amounts practically to a Protectorate, which they understood to have been disclaimed.

Her Majesty's Government, however, readily acknowledge the assurance repeated by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire in his note of the 16th instant that all existing Conventions between Tunis and foreign Powers will be maintained and respected, and this all the more readily because by the IVth Article of the Treaty with the Bey the French Republic guarantees their execution. Commercial and other rights and privileges will therefore remain undisturbed in so far as they are guaranteed by Treaties, unless new Conventions, freely entered into, shall be substituted for the existing arrangements.

Her Majesty's Government take note of this assurance, which they regard as an international engagement, binding upon the French Government in the future.

In order that there may be no misapprehension hereafter, Her Majesty's Government desire explicitly to state that the General Convention of the 19th July, 1875, between the Governments of Great Britain and Tunis, is and remains in force. This Treaty secures to British subjects, vessels, commerce, and navigation all the privileges, favours, and immunities which might then or thereafter be granted to the subjects, vessels, commerce, and navigation of any other nation whatever. It therefore extends to Great Britain all the advantages conceded by the Bey in other Treaties, including the Treaty between France and Tunis of the 8th August, 1830, of which the VIIIth Article is as follows:—"Les Capitulations faites entre la France et la Porte, de même que les anciens Traités et Conventions passés entre la France et la Régence de Tunis, et notamment le Traité du 5 Novembre, 1824, seront confirmés et continueront à être observés, dans toutes celles de leurs dispositions, auxquelles le présent Acte ne dérogerait pas."

I have to call your Excellency's special attention to the Article of the Treaty of 1875 containing the stipulation of most-favoured-nation treatment, as well as to the VIIth Article, by which the Bey engaged not to prohibit the importation into the Regency of any article of produce and manufacture of the British dominions, and that the duties to be levied on such articles should not exceed 8 per cent. *ad valorem*, or an equivalent specific duty fixed by common consent; and also to the XVIIIth Article, providing for most-favoured-nation treatment in regard to harbour, pilotage, light-house, or quarantine dues. It must not, however, be understood that by specially mentioning these Articles the force of the

\* Already laid in "Tunis No. 3 (1881)," No. 6.

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remaining Articles of the Treaty is in any way to be considered as being in any degree impaired by the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of the 12th instant:—

"Le Gouvernement de la République Française et le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis se réservent de fixer d'un commun accord les bases d'une organisation financière de la Régence, qui soit de nature à assurer le service de la Dette Publique et à garantir les droits des créanciers de la Tunisie."

If the agreement proposed to be entered into with the Bey is intended to change the constitution of the Financial Commission established by the Bey's Decree of the 5th July, 1869, after preliminary agreement between the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in which British creditors are represented, Her Majesty's Government think that an opportunity should be given to the creditors of expressing their views on the subject. Her Majesty's Government observe, M. l'Ambassadeur, that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire repudiates all idea of annexation by France of the port of Bizerta, or any port whatever of Tunis; and although he indicates the possibility of encouraging the improvement of the port by private enterprise, he declares that it in no way enters into the projects of the French Government to expend, at the present time, the enormous sums and to commence the immense works necessary for making this position a military port. I do not think it necessary, M. l'Ambassadeur, to enter into the question of the possible value of Bizerta as a commercial port, further than to observe that if the channel from the sea to the lake is deepened, so as to give access for large vessels, British ships will have, under the Treaty of 1875, a right to use it without being subjected to any higher dues than French or Tunisian vessels.

Her Majesty's Government feel confident that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire will appreciate the friendly intentions of Her Majesty's Government in being thus explicit in their views with regard to the rights of British subjects under existing Treaties, and will accept it as a proof of their earnest desire to prevent any occasion of future misapprehension, and to maintain the good understanding which has so long happily subsisted between the two countries.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 279.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 481.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, May 20, 1881.*

WITH reference to the passage in my note to M. Challeml-Lacour of this day,\* of which a copy is inclosed, relating to the Financial Commission established by the Bey's Decree of the 5th July, 1869, after preliminary agreement between the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and on which British creditors are represented, Her Majesty's Government think that an opportunity should be given to the creditors of expressing their views on the subject.

I would remind your Excellency that the Bey's Decree of the 5th July, 1869, was issued by His Highness after a special agreement between the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy, who gave their preliminary sanction to its terms, and I have to call your Excellency's attention to the communications which took place between the Marquis de la Valette and your Excellency at Paris on the subject, when the Marquis de la Valette stated that "he was particularly anxious to establish the principle that in all matters respecting the Tunisian finances the three Powers should act in conjunction." Everything M. de la Valette said must be treated "à trois."

This argument is further recorded in the instructions sent to the French Agent and Consul-General at the time, a copy of which the Marquis de la Valette was good enough to furnish officially to your Excellency.

Your Excellency will find the papers above referred to at pp. 264, 267, and 271 of the Confidential Correspondence on the Finances of Tunis 1868-69, of which a copy is annexed.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

\* No. 278.

No. 280.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 43.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 11, 1881.*

SINCE the arrival and concentration of French troops at Jedeida, M. Roustan's emissaries have redoubled their efforts to induce the Bey to accept the French demands. Among the pretensions put forward is a Treaty alliance between France and Tunis, according to the former, the exclusive right of representing Tunisian interests in foreign countries. By this arrangement the Sultan's Suzerainty over Tunis would be nullified.

The Bey to-day received stringent orders from the Porte not to treat with M. Roustan, and was, at the same time, informed that negotiations were going on with the Great Powers for the settlement of the pending difficulties.

The Bey was further enjoined to keep the British Government informed of all steps taken in the matter or contemplated. The indirectly-made French proposals have consequently been rejected.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 281.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)*

(No. 71.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 16, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 70 of the 13th instant, giving an account of the circumstances under which His Highness the Bey of Tunis was induced to sign the Treaty with France at the Kasr Essaid Palace on the 12th May, I have the honour to add the following details, which have reached me from authentic sources.

At the commencement of the interview the Bey asked to see General Bréart's credentials. The General replied that he had them, but did not produce them.

After repeatedly declaring he could not sign the Project of Treaty presented to him, and on the General insisting that it must be signed, the Bey asked what would happen if he persisted in his determination not to sign.

General Elias Mousulli, an Assistant Director of the Bey's Foreign Office, who acted on this occasion, as indeed he has done throughout the present difficulty, as a confidential agent of M. Roustan rather than as an employé of the Tunisian Government, stepped forward and told the Bey that, if His Highness did not sign, they had got somebody else prepared to sign instead of him.

This allusion referred to Sy Taib Bey, the third brother of His Highness, who, I believe, has been the object of French intrigues for some time past, and about whose attitude the Bey has had much uneasiness.

General Bréart then retired with his staff to an adjoining room, saying that he would remain there until 9 o'clock P.M., when he would come again for the Bey's reply. (It was then about 5 o'clock P.M.)

M. Roustan remained a short time longer with His Highness, and implored him, not only on account of his own personal security, but in the interest of that of the public in general, to yield, adding that he could assure him the most terrible consequences would ensue if he did not do so.

The Bey, upon this, summoned the whole of his Council of State, composed of ten persons, and, informing them of the exact state of the situation, asked them for advice as to what he should, under the circumstances, do. After a somewhat lengthened deliberation, all declared in favour of the Bey's yielding to the pressure put upon him, except Sy el Arbi Zerouck, the President of the Municipality of Tunis, who, it appears, was the only one of those by whom the Bey was surrounded who dared assert the courage of his opinions.

The Bey ratified the view taken by the Council, and, the time or opportunity accorded not allowing of the Convention being rendered into Arabic, affixed his signature to the French draft submitted—a document which, although it had been cursorily interpreted to him at the early part of the audience, he certainly did not thoroughly understand.

The draft signed by the Bey I have personally seen. Although I have been officially refused a copy of it, its contents are substantially those I have already reported to your Lordship.

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It has come to my knowledge that, two days later, the General requested the Bey at an audience to state whether he had or had not signed the Treaty of his own free will, but that His Highness did not reply. M. Roustan is represented to have then said that the Government of the Republic was willing to modify some of the conditions agreed to; but I do not think anything has yet been done in the matter. Indeed, at a meeting of the French colony held yesterday, M. Roustan, I understand, spoke of the "glorious Convention of the 12th May."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 282.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)*

(No. 51.)  
(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 21, 1881.*

BEJA and Mater, the two most important agricultural centres of the Regency, are occupied by French troops.

No. 283.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 21.)*

(No. 495.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 20, 1881.*

YESTERDAY M. Jules Ferry, the President of the Council of Ministers, laid on the table of the Chamber of Deputies a Bill to authorize the ratification of the Treaty of the 12th instant between France and Tunis.

He read the Exposé des Motifs of the Bill, and the text of the Treaty, from the tribune.

The reading of the Treaty gave rise to several disorderly interruptions from the Right.

The Bill was declared to be urgent.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 284.

*Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)*

(No. 261.)

My Lord,

*Vienna, May 17, 1881.*

BARON HAYMERLE, who, when I saw him to-day, was expecting to receive from the Turkish Ambassador the protest of the Porte against the French proceedings in Tunis, told me that he proposed to avoid the expression of any opinion on the subject, and only to say that it did not appear to him to be a matter in which any Government was under an obligation to interfere.

His Excellency having asked me whether I knew how Her Majesty's Government regarded the question, I replied that, without being informed of the view taken by your Lordship of the Treaty, I could assure him that Her Majesty's Government would endeavour to avoid making it the subject of serious controversy with France, though it was not to be supposed that it would be seen without dissatisfaction in England.

I observed that the obligation imposed upon the Bey of submitting, for the future, to the French Government all Conventions to be made with other countries interfered with the liberty of action which they had hitherto practised in their relations with Tunis, and also that, although it was, I believed, true that the French Government had for a number of years refused to acknowledge the existence of the Sultan's suzerainty over Tunis, M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire, in his Circular despatch published in the Yellow Book, appeared to me to have gone further than he was warranted in doing in endeavouring to prove that Her Majesty's Government had also regarded it as entirely independent, and especially in stating that the "locution sacramentelle" of "King" and "Kingdom" was employed in the British Treaties of 1863 and 1875, where the words "Bey" and "Regency" were used throughout.

I repeated to Baron Haymerle that I was speaking entirely without instructions from

your Lordship, and that he need not be afraid of Her Majesty's Government being actuated by any feelings of jealousy of the legitimate influence which the possession of Algiers must give to France in Tunis, nor of the measures which might be thought necessary to provide for the security of her frontier.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 285.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 23.)*

(No. 205.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 18, 1881.*

DURING the Ministerial interregnum consequent upon the resignation of the Cairoli Cabinet, there is, of course, very little of interest to be learnt at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

I called upon M. Cairoli this morning, who informed me that he was only waiting for the appointment of his successor in order to leave Rome with the intention of attending to his health, which required care, and of not returning here for some time. In reply to an inquiry I made, his Excellency gave the most categorical denial to a report which has appeared in some of the papers, that he had appealed to Prince Bismarck to propose a Conference for the settlement of the Tunisian difficulty. Such an idea, M. Cairoli said, had not even entered his mind.

His Excellency then spoke of the circumstances which attended his resignation. He believed that he might still have secured a majority, but in the then excitement in the Chamber, he considered that he had acted patriotically by not affording the opportunity for a discussion, which might have been attended by regrettable consequences, in regard to the maintenance of good relations with France.

The acute excitement respecting the proceedings of that country in Tunis appears to have somewhat abated by the fall of the late Administration and by the counter-excitement which is aroused respecting the upshot of the Ministerial crisis. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the feeling which has been created against France is likely soon to disappear.

There is scarcely an Italian with whom I have spoken who does not express himself to the effect that Italy has been deceived, injured, and insulted by the French Government, and who does not look forward to the time when these proceedings may be practically resented.

Time may, of course, moderate these sentiments; but the talk is now of the necessity of pushing forward the completion of the yet unfinished iron-clads, of constructing land and sea defences, and of hastening the development of army organization, so as to be ready when the propitious moment, which is confidently anticipated as of certain occurrence within a shorter or a longer period, shall arrive. And there will be nothing less surprising than that one of the first duties which the new Administration will be called upon to perform will be to give a stimulus to naval and military preparations, entailing thereby, of course, an increase in the Budgets of those Departments. It must be acknowledged that the French officious press is not a little responsible for having rendered more keen the irritation which pervades the public mind in Italy in consequence of the proceedings of the French Government.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 286.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)*

(No. 211.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 21, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract and translation from the "Official Gazette" of yesterday, denying that the Italian Government have made any communications to other Governments with a view of submitting the Franco-Tunisian Treaty to a Conference.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.



Inclosure in No. 286.

*Extract from the "Official Gazette" of May 20, 1881.*

(Translation.)

IN spite of repeated denials, some foreign journals persist in affirming that the Italian Government have moved and communicated with other Governments with the object of submitting the Franco-Tunisian Treaty to a Conference.

We declare these statements to be entirely false.

No. 287.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)*

No. 505.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 23, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy, taken from the "Temps" newspaper, of a letter from M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to the editor of the "Deutsche Revue," expressing his gratitude to the German Government and the German press for their attitude with respect to the Tunisian question.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 287.

*Extract from "Le Temps" of May 22, 1881.*

M. BARTHÉLEMY ST. HILAIRE vient d'adresser au Directeur de la "Deutsche Revue" la lettre suivante, au sujet d'un article publié dans la dernière livraison de ce recueil, et qui, sous le titre: "Le pouvoir sans la responsabilité," traitait de la politique de Mr. Gladstone et de celle de M. Gambetta:—

"Cher Monsieur,

*"Paris, le 12 Mai, 1881.*

"J'ai lu votre article, et je suis entièrement de votre avis. Le pouvoir sans la responsabilité est très dangereux pour celui qui l'exerce, et peut provoquer bien du trouble et de la confusion dans l'Etat.

"Les affaires de Tunis approchent de la solution, qui, j'espère, sera heureuse. Nous n'avons que des intentions loyales et bienveillantes à l'égard du Bey; mais voilà deux ans qu'il les ignore presque totalement, et il nous force de prendre contre son mauvais vouloir des garanties auxquelles sans cela nous aurions volontiers renoncé.

"Nous n'avons qu'à nous louer de l'attitude de l'Allemagne dans cette question importante; je me plais à manifester la reconnaissance que nous devons au Gouvernement Allemand et aux organes importants de votre presse; c'est là un acte de justice.

"Les explications qui ont été fournies aujourd'hui au Sénat attestent que nous ne visions ni une conquête, ni même une occupation permanente. Nous prendrons des sûretés, mais pour un délai que nous chercherons à abréger le plus possible.

"Voilà plusieurs années qu'on essaye de soulever le monde Musulman; l'ex-Khédive, depuis sa chute, s'est voué avec beaucoup de zèle à cette œuvre. La guerre d'Orient a récemment fourni une occasion dont on a essayé de profiter.

"Mais je ne crois pas que ces efforts auront beaucoup de succès; dans tous les cas, nous sommes sur nos gardes.

"Agréez, &c.  
(Signé) "BARTHÉLEMY ST. HILAIRE."

No. 288.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)*

(No. 506.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 23, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship an account published in the "Temps" newspaper of statements made the day before yesterday by M. Jules Ferry and

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to the Committee appointed by the Chamber of Deputies to report on the Bill to authorize the ratification of the Tunisian Treaty.

The sittings of Committees of this kind are held with closed doors; but the account given in the "Temps," though quite unofficial, is probably correct in substance.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire is reported in it to have confirmed the denial of the Italian Government, that it had proposed that the Franco-Tunisian Treaty should be submitted to a European Congress.

He is stated to have announced, in conjunction with M. Jules Ferry, that negotiations were about to be entered into with the Powers concerned for modifying the composition of the International Financial Commission at Tunis.

He appears to have accompanied this announcement with a declaration that there was no question of the payment of the interest on the Tunisian Debt being guaranteed by France.

He seems to have affirmed, moreover, that special Conventions were to be entered into by the Bey for reforms in the collection of the taxes and in the administration of justice.

Finally, the two Ministers are reported to have intimated that certain points on the coast would be occupied by the French, with a view to prevent the importation of arms and munitions of war.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 288.

*Extract from "Le Temps" of May 23, 1881.*

CHAMBRE DES DÉPUTÉS. LE TRAITÉ FRANCO-TUNISIEN.—La Commission du Traité Franco-Tunisien, dont nous avons fait connaître la composition hier aux dernières nouvelles, s'est réunie immédiatement après son élection et a choisi pour Président M. Latrade et pour Secrétaire M. Borriglione. Puis elle a entendu MM. Jules Ferry et Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, qui s'étaient tenus à sa disposition dès sa constitution.

M. Jules Ferry a été entendu à 3 heures, puis il est revenu à 4 heures en compagnie de M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire. De nombreuses questions ont été posées aux deux Ministres, qui y ont répondu et ont fourni aussi des explications sur d'autres points que ceux soulevés par ces questions.

Voici quelques renseignements sur les déclarations faites par les Ministres:

D'abord M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire a confirmé le démenti que le Gouvernement Italien ait formulé officiellement la proposition tendant à soumettre le Traité Franco-Tunisien à un Congrès des Représentants des Puissances Signataires du Traité de Berlin.

Ensuite le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a annoncé qu'il avait reçu le matin même une dépêche par laquelle il était informé que la Porte renonçait à envoyer des troupes à Tripoli comme elle en avait conçu le projet primitivement.

Les deux Ministres ont ensuite dit que des négociations allaient être engagées avec de Puissances intéressées pour modifier la composition de la Commission Internationale de Contrôle des Finances Tunisiennes, qui est formée actuellement d'un Français, un Anglais, et un Italien.

M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire s'est longuement étendu sur la question de la dette Tunisienne et des droits des créanciers Français, et il a assuré, ainsi que le Président du Conseil, que si le Gouvernement s'efforçait de faire respecter les droits de nos nationaux créanciers de la Régence, il n'était nullement question de leur faire donner par l'Etat Français une garantie d'intérêts.

En ce qui concerne la réforme de l'administration Tunisienne au point de vue de la perception des impôts, de la justice, le Gouvernement réglera ces questions par des Conventions particulières avec le Bey.

Pour l'exécution des grands travaux publics destinés à asseoir définitivement l'influence Française en Tunisie, le Gouvernement a pris l'engagement de ne rien entreprendre sans avoir consulté préalablement la Chambre.

Enfin, les Ministres ont indiqué que nous allions faire occuper certains points du littoral sud de la Tunisie pour empêcher l'introduction des armes et des munitions de guerre.

Après le départ des Ministres, la Commission a choisi M. Antonin Proust pour Rapporteur. Le Rapport sera lu demain à 1 heure à la Commission et déposé

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immédiatement après sur le bureau de la Chambre. Le Gouvernement se propose de demander la discussion immédiate.

No. 289.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 24.)*

(No. 52.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 23, 1881.*

ON receipt of a Government Circular announcing the establishment of friendly relations between France and Tunis, some Arabs of an adjoining district proceeded to the Enfida, and, surrounding the British outskirts beyond, threatened to attack the British subjects residing there (three men and a woman). Levy's people drove Arabs away and escaped in the night to Tunis.

The Bey has sent a Colonel and 100 cavalry to the Enfida.

No. 290.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 248.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, May 24, 1881, 5.30 P.M.*

THE following telegram received from Mr. Reade:—

"French ship of war 'Léopard' overhauled British schooner 'Nova Stella' on the 19th, and insisted on searching her for gunpowder. Not satisfied with the search, 'Léopard' escorted schooner to Sfax, where the latter is to be closely inspected by the local authorities in the presence of a Dragoman of the British Consular Agency. I await further particulars."

Similar reports appear in this morning's newspapers. Tell the French Government that we have received this intelligence, and ask them if they have heard anything of the matter.

No. 291.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 25.)*

(No. 512.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 24, 1881.*

THE Bill to authorize the ratification of the Franco-Tunisian Treaty was passed yesterday by the Chamber of Deputies.

The Report of the Committee was read from the tribune by M. Antonin Proust.

Speeches criticizing the Treaty and the conduct of the Government were made by M. Clemenceau, M. Delafosse, and M. Cunéo d'Ornano.

A motion by M. Cunéo d'Ornano to call the attention of the Government afresh to certain Articles of the Treaty was rejected by 344 votes to 113,—majority, 231.

Finally the Bill was passed by 340 votes against 1.

I inclose the authentic Report of the proceedings, published in the "Journal Officiel" this morning.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 292.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 25.)*

(No. 54.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, May 25, 1881.*

I HAVE reported the case of the "Nuova Stella" to Captain Tryon.

No. 293\*.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26.)*

(No. 72.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 20, 1881.*

THE contingency to which, by my telegram No. 49 of the 17th instant, I had the honour of inviting your Lordship's attention as likely to befall General Si-el-Arbi Zerouek, the President of the Municipality, has happened.

At a late hour of the night of the 18th the General and two of his sons entered the Consulate and asked for an asylum, on the ground that their personal security and even lives were in danger.

I did not, under the circumstances, feel justified in withholding the temporary protection of this residence, and, on the General's declaring that it was his particular object and desire to leave the country as soon as possible, I did not hesitate to assure him of my good offices, so far as, consistently with my official duties they could be extended to him.

Early the next morning I called on the Bey, and, after explaining all the circumstances of the case, asked His Highness, as a matter of personal favour, that the refugees might be permitted to leave the country by the first opportunity.

His Highness appeared disposed to comply with my request—although he told me that complaints had reached him that the General had endeavoured to incite the Mussulman population of this city to rebellion—but regretted that it was not in his power to do so, as the General had made himself particularly obnoxious to M. Roustan by his opposition to the signing of the Treaty of Kasr Essaid, and his subsequent protest against the entry of French troops into the city. His Highness furthermore admitted that, in the steps he had taken relatively to General Zerouek, he had acted under the instigation of the French Representative, and confirmed the generally accepted report that the dismissal of several other high functionaries of the Government and subordinate employés is due to the same influences.

I expressed my astonishment at the admissions made, and declared that, in view of His Highness' non-compliance with my appeal on behalf of the refugees, it would be my duty to submit their case to Her Majesty's Government, as well to report to your Lordship all the circumstances under which, by His Highness' admission, they had been driven to seek refuge under the British flag.

After some further discussion of the affair, the Bey agreed to take the matter again into consideration, and I, on my part, consented to wait some hours longer before referring to your Lordship for instructions.

Before noon the same day I received a formal message from the Bey that His Highness acceded to the request I had made on the refugees' behalf, and I have accordingly arranged for their embarkation, this day, on board an Italian steamer bound to Palermo.

Your Lordship's telegram No. 25 of the 18th instant did not reach me until twelve hours after the General and his sons had established themselves in the Consulate; but, although I have had to act without any special instructions from your Lordship, I trust it will be found that the discretionary powers with which I am vested have not, in the present instance, been misemployed.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.



No. 293.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 50.)

My Lord,

Tunis, May 19, 1881.

IF mention should be made in the newspapers that the President of this Municipality has found an asylum at this Consulate, I beg to inform your Lordship that the affair has been amicably settled.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 294.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received May 26.)*

(Confidential.)

Sir,

Admiralty, May 26, 1881.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the decypher of a telegram dated the 24th May, from Captain Tryon, of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," at Tunis.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure in No. 294.

*Captain Tryon to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Telegraphic.)

"Monarch," at Tunis, May 24, 1881.

FRENCH Senior Naval Officer assures me that if, as reported, "Léopard" has searched an English schooner when on passage from Malta to Sfax, it must be due to a mistake. It would be contrary to orders. "Léopard" is under orders.

No. 295.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 26.)*

(No. 52.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 25, 1881.

YOUR telegram No. 248 of yesterday.

In answer to my inquiry, French Minister for Foreign Affairs writes to me that, in fact, the Commander of the "Léopard," in consequence of a regrettable misunderstanding of his instructions, visited one or two more foreign vessels; that he was instructed to watch suspected vessels, and to support the Tunisian authorities in repressing smuggling; but that he was by no means authorized to visit foreign vessels on the high seas, and that fresh instructions have been sent to him to prevent any misunderstanding in future.

French Minister for Foreign Affairs adds that the French Minister at Tunis telegraphs that the incident concerning the British schooner has been the subject of a friendly exchange of explanations between the Commander of the "Léopard" and the Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," who have come to a perfect understanding on their respective obligations.

No. 296.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 500 A.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 26, 1881.

THE French Ambassador called on me to-day, and, with reference to the proceedings of the "Stella" and the "Léopard," said that M. B. St. Hilaire had shown your Excellency the instructions of the Commander of the "Léopard," who had acted in opposition

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to his orders in searching the vessel on the high seas, and that further directions would be issued to prevent similar misunderstandings in future.

I told M. Challemel-Lacour that I could not admit that the question whether the "Stella" had been searched on the high seas or within Tunisian waters would have affected the matter.

M. Challemel-Lacour was not prepared to discuss this point.

I stated to him that, if a question were asked in Parliament, I would state that the incident had happened in contravention of orders, and that we were in friendly communication with the French Government on the subject.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 297.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)*

(No. 520.)

My Lord,

*Paris, May 25, 1881.*

I HAD last evening the honour to receive the telegram in which your Lordship informed me that it had been reported to you that a British schooner, the "Nova Stella," had been overhauled and searched for gunpowder by the French vessel of war, "Léopard," and taken by that vessel to Sfax to undergo a further search by the Tunisian authorities.

In execution of your Lordship's instructions, I sent early this morning a note to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to inquire whether the French Government had heard anything of this matter, and in the afternoon I made a verbal representation to his Excellency on the subject.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of my note to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, and also copies of a note and inclosure which have been addressed to me in reply by his Excellency this evening.

I have already forwarded to your Lordship, by telegraph, the substance of this communication from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

It is stated in the note that the "Léopard" was sent to inspect a part of the coast of Tunis in order to prevent smuggling, and that the Commander, in consequence of a mistake, which is regretted, of the meaning of his instructions ("par suite d'une méprise regrettable sur la portée de ses instructions"), proceeded to overhaul ("visiter") one or more foreign vessels, suspected of being engaged in smuggling gunpowder.

It is affirmed, moreover, that the Commander was instructed only to watch suspicious vessels, and in case of need to support by force the Tunisian authorities ("prêter main-forte aux autorités Tunisiennes") in suppressing smuggling; but that he was by no means authorized to visit foreign vessels on the high sea; and it is added that his instructions have been formally renewed so as to prevent any mistake in future.

Finally it is mentioned in the note that the French Resident at Tunis reports that the affair of the "Nova Stella" has formed the subject of a friendly exchange of explanations between the Commander of the "Léopard," and the captain of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," and that these two officers have come to a perfect understanding on their respective duties ("que ces deux officiers se sont mis parfaitement d'accord sur les obligations qui leur incombent respectivement").

The letter from the Minister of Marine, a copy of which forms the inclosure in the note, states more distinctly the nature of the instructions given to the Commanders of the "Léopard," and of another small vessel sent to cruise on the Tunisian coast between Djerbah and Mehedia. It says that these instructions forbid the Commanders to visit foreign vessels, and that when they have reason to suspect the destination of certain vessels, they are to confine themselves to directing the attention of the Tunisian authorities to them, and to leave it to those authorities to prevent the landing of contraband articles.

I am &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 297.

*Lord Lyons to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.*

IT is reported to Her Majesty's Government that on the 19th instant the French ship of war "Léopard" overhauled the British schooner "Nova Stella," and insisted on searching her for gunpowder; and, that, not satisfied with the search, the "Léopard" escorted the British schooner to Sfax, where she is to be closely inspected by the local authorities in the presence of a Dragoman of the British Consular Agency.

Lord Lyons is instructed to inquire whether the French Government is in possession of any information respecting this matter.

Lord Lyons ventures to ask M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire for an early answer to this inquiry, and he avails himself, &c.

*Paris, May 25, 1881.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 297.

*M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to Lord Lyons.*

M. l'Ambassadeur,

*Paris, le 25 Mai, 1881.*

VOUS m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser une note en date de ce jour pour me demander les informations que je pourrais avoir au sujet d'une visite faite à bord d'un bâtiment Anglais dans les environs du Sfax, par l'avis Français "Léopard," visite qui aurait eu pour but la recherche de poudre de guerre.

J'ai appris, en effet, que le Commandant du "Léopard," qui a été chargé dernièrement d'inspecter une partie des côtes de la Tunisie afin d'empêcher l'introduction de la contrebande, a, par suite d'une méprise regrettable sur la portée de ses instructions, procédé à la visite d'une ou plusieurs barques étrangères suspectées d'introduire frauduleusement de la poudre dans les Etats du Bey.

Dès que j'ai été informé de ce fait, je me suis empressé d'en référer à mon collègue le Ministre de la Marine, qui m'a fait connaître le 22 de ce mois les termes des ordres donnés au Commandant de l'avis Français. Il en résulte que cet officier a seulement été invité à surveiller les navires suspects et à prêter au besoin main-forte aux autorités Tunisiennes pour la répression de la contrebande, mais qu'il n'a nullement été autorisé à visiter des bâtiments étrangers en haute mer. Ces instructions viennent de lui être formellement renouvelées de manière à empêcher tout malentendu à l'avenir. Au surplus, un télégramme que je reçois aujourd'hui même du Résident Français à Tunis m'annonce que l'incident dont il s'agit a fait l'objet d'un échange amical d'explications entre le Commandant de l'avis Français et le Commandant du "Monarch," de la Marine Royale Britannique, et que ces deux officiers se sont mis parfaitement d'accord sur les obligations qui leur incombent respectivement.

Agréez, &c.  
(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.

P.S.—J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-joint le texte même de la lettre de mon collègue de la Marine.

B. ST. H.

Inclosure 3 in No. 297.

*Admiral Cloué to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.*

M. le Ministre,

*Paris, le 22 Mai, 1881.*

J'AI l'honneur de vous accuser réception des deux communications, datées du 21 Mai, que je viens de recevoir de vous: l'un est l'extrait d'une dépêche télégraphique de M. le Ministre Résident à Tunis, qui signale les inconvénients auxquels pourrait donner lieu la visite en pleine mer, par nos navires de guerre et sans dénonciation de blocus, des bâtiments étrangers suspects de contrebande dans le Golfe de Gabès; par l'autre, motivée également par ces faits de contrebande, vous me demandez si la marine ne pourrait pas entretenir dans ces parages deux garde-côtes à faible tirant d'eau.

Depuis le début des opérations en Tunisie les Agents de votre Département ayant signalé la nécessité d'une surveillance de la côte entre Djerbah et Mehediah, j'ai donné l'ordre au "Corse" et au "Léopard" de s'établir en croisière sur ces points. Les

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instructions données aux Capitaines leur ont interdit la visite des navires étrangers; lorsqu'ils ont des motifs de suspecter la destination de certains bâtiments, ils doivent se borner à les signaler aux autorités Tunisiennes et laisser à celles-ci le soin de s'opposer au débarquement de la contrebande.

Ces instructions seront maintenues et la surveillance continuera à s'exercer avec toute l'efficacité permise en employant nos canonnières qui sont nos plus petits bâtiments, mais dont malheureusement le tirant d'eau est encore trop fort pour qu'ils puissent naviguer sur les bas-fonds qui règnent sur certains points du Golfe de Gabès.

Agréé, &c.  
(Signé) G. CLOUË.

No. 298.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received May 27.)*

(No. 524.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 26, 1881.

THE Bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies to authorize the ratification of the Franco-Tunisian Treaty was laid on the table of the Senate yesterday by M. Jules Ferry, the President of the Council of Ministers.

A division was taken on a motion that the Bureaux should assemble immediately to consider the Treaty, the result of which was that the motion was carried by 180 votes to 2.

A disorderly scene was occasioned by M. de Gavardie, but had apparently no influence on the vote.

It is supposed that the Bill will be passed to-morrow or the next day.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 299.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 222. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 27, 1881.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and said that he had received from his Government a telegraphic message from Count Corti, in which the latter denied that there had been any conversations between him and Lord Salisbury on the subject of the possible annexation of Tripoli by Italy.

Some articles in the English newspapers, General Menabrea said, and the answer of Sir Charles Dilke to a question put to him in the House of Commons yesterday, made him desirous of knowing the real facts of the case:

I told his Excellency that I had seen no documents which proved that there had been any communication between Lord Salisbury and Count Corti on this subject.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 300.

*Sir G. Balfour to Sir C. Dilke.—(Received May 28.)*

Dear Sir Charles,

6, Cleveland Gardens, Hyde Park, May 26, 1881.

IN the despatch of the 20th May, p. 12 of No. 3, the claim of right to the port of Bizerta is made, but on the condition of the channel from the sea to the lake is deepened. Though I did not visit Bizerta when at Tunis, yet I failed not to inquire about the much-praised port, and I came to the conclusion that it was not of the importance which our Consul-General, Sir R. Wood, placed on it.

It is not impossible to deepen the channel by dredging, but I doubt if the dredge could make the channel of the great depth at the sea entrance which is found at the inside near the port. There the depth is very great.

The Bay of Bizerta is very far from being safe; indeed it is far less so than the Bay of Tunis, which is much more sheltered.

The improvement contemplated at Bizerta must be in the bay, and this view is borne out by the French Minister's declarations.

Lord Lyons, in his despatch of the 5th May, p. 78 of No. 2, states that it would require 4,000,000*l.* at least to form a harbour at Bizerta. Now the port is as good a harbour as could be made, provided the channel could be deepened and kept deep; and at p. 7 of despatch of the 7th May, No. 3, again the French Minister makes mention of the gigantic works necessary to transform this position into a military port; thus again showing that the new port is intended to be made on the outside of the present remarkable "port."

The works required for Tunis, as well as for Bizerta, are far more gigantic than those we need for Dover Bay, and as I was on the Committee on Dover Harbour, I do not hesitate to estimate the cost for these works at more than 3 millions.

How much more than that sum for Bizerta may be guessed when one knows that Dover is at present safer for vessels.

My object in writing is to show that if the French improve Bizerta it will be by other works in the bay, and not alone by deepening the channel leading into the present port of Bizerta.

We ought to have on the records of the Admiralty a Report on Bizerta and on Tunis Bay by a superior officer of the English navy, made about 1830. I have failed to ascertain who the officer was. But the French rely on that Report, and pronounced thirty-five years ago that "la baie de Bizerte, qui git entre le Cap Blanc et le Cap Zehib, est très mauvaise; les navires n'y sont jamais en sûreté."

Yours, &c.  
(Signed) G. BALFOUR.

P.S.—If the French carry out all the promised improvements in the Tunisian territory, then the expenditure will be enormous for irrigating works alone, at least 2*l.* per acre, and 200 irrigated acres per square mile, or fully 12 millions for the whole irrigated area in the Regency.

G. B.

No. 301.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 28, 4:30 P.M.)*

(No. 56 [?].)  
(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, May 28, 1881, 10:10 A.M.

A QUESTION has arisen between an Englishman living near Mater and the General commanding the French troops in that district. I give particulars by post.

The Prime Minister is to proceed on the 2nd June on a special mission to Paris.

No. 302.

*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30.)*

(No. 406.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 21, 1881.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 334 of the 4th instant, the Russian Ambassador assures me that his Excellency Musurus Pasha was in error in informing your Lordship that he (the Russian Ambassador) had stated to the Porte that his Government would be ready to join with the British and Italian Governments in endeavouring to come to some understanding with the Porte and with the French Government respecting the affairs of Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.



*Mr. Goschen to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30.)*

(No. 410. Confidential.)

My Lord,

*Constantinople, May 24, 1881.*

THE encouragement which Prince Bismarck is believed here to have given to the French Government in their demands upon Tunis has produced considerable ill-feeling towards Germany in this country, and I have been informed confidentially that an official complaint has been made in the form of an instruction lately sent to the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin to the following effect:—

"The Porte cannot conceal the surprise which the answer of Germany respecting the Tunisian question has caused to the Ottoman Government."

In 1871 M. de Till declared that he had taken cognizance with pleasure of the Firman which had been granted to the Bey of Tunis, and in which Germany saw for His Highness a certain means for guaranteeing him from the dangers of cupidity ("convoitise").

On repeated occasions subsequently, the German Ambassadors have declared in audiences with the Sultan that Germany recognized no other authority than that of His Imperial Majesty on all the African coast ("sur tout le littoral de l'Afrique").

Moreover, in 1873, the German Ambassador invited the Porte, in distinct terms which are by no means equivocal, to send iron-clads to Tunis to show her authority in view of possible French designs ("afin d'y faire acte d'autorité en vue des vellétés de la France").

The Porte cannot reconcile with the above acts the distance of language which to-day separates Germany from this question.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

No. 304.

*Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received May 30.)*

(No. 247.)

My Lord,

*St. Petersburg, May 25, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that M. de Giers told me to-day that Chakir Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, had been to see him with reference to the affairs of Tunis, and of the Circular which the Porte has addressed to the Great Powers, and that he had told his Excellency that Russia could not interfere in the question; that she was merely waiting to see what other Powers did, and that, with regard to the Circular, he (M. de Giers) had taken note of it ("en avait pris acte").

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 305.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 51.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 21, 1881.*

IT is officially reported that French troops have entered and occupy Beja and Mater, the two most important agricultural centres of the Regency.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 306.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 52.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 23, 1881.*

AS soon as it became known, by a Government Circular addressed to the chief authorities of the various provincial districts, that friendly relations had been restored

between France and Tunis, some Arabs residing in the neighbourhood of the Enfida estate proceeded to the house (Dar-el-Bey) which stands on that property, with the apparent intention of attacking the three Frenchmen and a woman by whom it is temporarily occupied. It appears that a number of people in the service of Mr. Levy came immediately to the assistance of the French subjects, and, after driving the Arabs away, escorted them to Tunis. A body of 100 cavalry, under the command of a Colonel, has, by the Bey's orders, been sent to the Enfida, for the purpose of insuring the future security of the French subjects referred to.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 307.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 53.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 23, 1881.*

THE French war-steamer "Léopard" came up with a British schooner, called the "Nuova Stella," when wind-bound in the shoals of the Island of Kerkena. The Commander of the former insisted on having the schooner searched for gunpowder, and she was accordingly boarded and subjected to a close inspection. It was not, however, possible to search the vessel thoroughly, on account of the way in which her cargo was stowed, so the French naval officer permitted her to proceed to Sfax, and the "Léopard" accompanied her until her arrival at that port. On a demand being subsequently made by the local authorities at Sfax, the "Nuova Stella" was again searched, conformably with the regulations of the port, and in the presence of a Dragoman of the British Consular Agency. I have applied for further and more authentic particulars.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 308.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received May 31.)*

(No. 214.)

My Lord,

*Rome, May 26, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship, a paragraph from the "Italie" of this day, containing a telegram received by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs from Count Corti, Italian Minister at Constantinople, upon the subject of Tripoli.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 308.

*Extract from the "Italie" of May 26, 1881.*

LA TRIPOLITAINE.—Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a reçu le télégramme suivant du Comte Corti, Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople:

Un télégramme de l'Agence Havas, arrivé ce matin à Constantinople, dit que le "Standard" parle d'un document diplomatique rendant compte d'une conversation entre M. Waddington, le Comte Corti, et le Marquis de Salisbury. Il résulterait de cette conversation qu'il avait été convenu que l'Italie pourrait prendre la Tripolitaine si la France s'annexait la Tunisie. Une pareille conversation n'ayant jamais eu lieu, le document ne peut être qu'apocryphe.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, June 1, 1881, 5.15 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 56 of yesterday.

What was the date on which the "Santa Maria" was boarded by the French gun-boat "Léopard"?

No. 310.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 31. Extender.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 1, 1881.*

I HAVE received your telegram No. 56 of yesterday, informing me that the British schooner "Santa Maria" was some days ago boarded off the Coniglieri Islands by the French gun-boat "Léopard;" and I have to instruct you to report to me by telegraph the date on which this took place.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 311.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 2.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 54.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 25, 1881.*

I HAVE brought the case of the "Nuova Stella" under the notice of Captain Tryon.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 312.

*Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.*

(No. 179.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 2, 1881.*

I APPROVE the language used by your Excellency to Baron Haymerle, reported in your despatch No. 261 of the 17th ultimo, respecting the views of your Government with regard to the French proceedings in Tunis.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 313.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 3.)*

My Lord,

*Admiralty, May 31, 1881.*

WITH reference to my letter of the 26th instant, relative to an English vessel\* alleged to have been searched by the French war-ship "Léopard," I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the perusal of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter, dated the 25th instant, from Captain Tryon, of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," on the subject.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

\* The "Nova Stella."

*Captain Tryon to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir,

*"Monarch," Goletta, May 25, 1881.*

YESTERDAY afternoon, 24th May, Mr. Reade acquainted me "that an English schooner, the 'Nova Stella,' when on her way from Malta to Sfax, when off the Kerkenha Islands, was searched without permission by the French war-steamer 'Léopard,' who sent a boat to her for the purpose. Not being satisfied, owing to the way the cargo was stowed, she was ordered to keep company, and the 'Léopard' escorted her to Sfax, where she was subsequently searched by consent, and her cargo found according to manifest." At Sfax she was searched in the presence of an officer from the English Consulate by the Tunisian authorities. This form of searching, Mr. Reade tells me, is according to agreement.

2. Telegrams announcing this had left for England, and Mr. Reade had himself reported it.

3. Thinking the matter of some importance, and open to be represented in so many ways, I went frankly to Captain Riennier, the French Senior Naval Officer here, under whose orders the "Léopard" is, who disclaims the act as reported, and I telegraphed to the Admiralty and Commander-in-chief.

4. It was my intention to have sent the "Condor" to inquire and report, but after my interview with Captain Riennier I annulled her sailing.

5. I felt that over-haste, in the presence of a man-of-war specially sent, might exaggerate the importance of an affair so far very imperfectly known, and intensify a feeling that undoubtedly exists among partizans of all sides, and in all questions, in this community, and a little delay could not affect the merits of the case.

6. At Sfax we have a Consular Agent, an Italian, and Mr. Reade tells me he can trust him.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. TRYON.

No. 314.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 3, 9.15 P.M.)*

(No. 51.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Rome, June 3, 1881, 6 P.M.*

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs has just informed me that Tunisian Minister, Mustafa, and the Director of the Tunisian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, are leaving Tunis to-day for Paris, and that he believes a new Treaty is to be negotiated there to replace that signed at Tunis, and modifying some of the clauses of the latter which may be calculated to give rise to difficulties.

No. 315.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 4, 8 P.M.)*

(No. 57.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, June 4, 1881, 1.10 P.M.*

THE "Léopard" boarded the "Santa Maria" on the 23rd May.  
This information just received after reference to Consular Agency.

No. 316.

*Mr. Plunkett to Earl Granville.—(Received June 6.)*

(No. 434.)

My Lord,

*Therapia, May 31, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of an official *communiqué* which the Ottoman Government has had published in the Constantinople papers of yesterday, denying the assertion that the Porte had itself admitted the independence of Tunis, in a document addressed to the French Ambassador in 1864.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.



Inclosure in No. 316.

*Newspaper Extract.*

THE TUNISIAN QUESTION.—The "Constantinople Messenger" of the 25th instant reproduces an article of the Paris "Temps," in which the following passage occurs:—

"France has produced an official document, addressed in 1864 by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to M. de Moustier, at that time French Ambassador at Constantinople. In this document the Sublime Porte expresses its satisfaction at seeing the French possessions in Africa separated from Turkish territory by an independent country such as the Regency of Tunis."

These data furnished by the "Temps" are utterly erroneous and fantastic. The facts are as follows:—In 1864 M. de Moustier had inquired if the Sublime Porte had any intention of modifying the *status quo* in Tunis, according to the reports which had reached his Government. The Sublime Porte replied to this inquiry that it had no intention of changing whatsoever in the order of things established in Tunis, and that His Majesty would always maintain the rights which he had inherited from his ancestors. M. de Moustier was pleased to take note of this declaration, and in his reply took no exception to the affirmation made by Aali Pasha of the sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan over the Province of Tunis.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs,  
May 19, 1881.

No. 317.

*Mr. Wyndham to Earl Granville.—(Received June 6.)*

(No. 260.)  
My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 1, 1881.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 205, Confidential, of the 11th ultimo, it appears that M. de Giers wished me to understand that, Russia having no interests in Tunis, his Excellency thought that the Russian Government should abstain from any initiative in the question which has arisen between France and Tunis, and wait to see what the other Powers did.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HUGH WYNDHAM.

No. 318.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8.)*

E  
(No. 232. Confidential.)  
My Lord,

Rome, June 3, 1881.

I CALLED on M. Mancini the day after his accession to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but did not find him at home, and this afternoon his Excellency returned my visit.

His Excellency spoke of the pleasure it would give him to co-operate in maintaining the friendly relations which had always existed between our two countries, and said that nothing would be wanting on his part to render those relations more cordial.

He very shortly referred to the Tunisian affair, and, contrary to what had been told me a few days since by M. Depretis, as reported in my despatch No. 227, Confidential, of the 1st instant, said that it was a question which had made a deep impression in the country. It was not alone the action of France which had aroused the national susceptibility in Italy, but her mode of action. He had, he said, received letters from the provinces which spoke very strongly on the subject. He spoke of the proximity of Bizerta to the Italian coast, and the constant menace it would be to Italy should it eventually be annexed to the Algerian Colony and become a French military port.

I observed to his Excellency that the French Government had disclaimed all idea of annexation by France of the port of Bizerta, or of expending upon it the necessary sums for making it a military port, a point which had been duly noticed in your Lordship's note to the French Ambassador in London of the 20th ultimo; that no doubt the French Government would now be anxious to remove any feelings of irritation which might have

arisen in Italy in consequence of recent occurrences; and I presumed that such endeavours would be met in a corresponding spirit on the part of the Italian Government.

As to the question of Bizerta, M. Mancini did not appear at all reassured. He said that whatever might be the present intentions of the French Government, it might well be expected that they might be drawn, by the force of circumstances, into going further than they now contemplated. The attitude of Italy, he said, must of course be regulated by whether the French occupation partook of a permanent, or a temporary, character.

His Excellency then informed me that he had news from Tunis that the Minister Mustafa, and the Director of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs—a creation of M. Roustan's—were leaving Tunis to-day for Paris, where he believed that a new Treaty would be negotiated, to replace that signed on the 12th May, and modifying some of the clauses of the latter which might be calculated to create difficulties in execution with other Powers.

In reply to my inquiry as to which clause his Excellency referred to, he named the fourth, by which the French Government guarantees the execution of the Treaties between the Regency and the European Powers.

I again referred to your Lordship's note to M. Challemeil-Lacour of the 20th May, in which your Lordship takes note of the IVth Article, and of the assurance of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that all existing Conventions between Tunis and foreign Powers will be maintained and respected, and I asked his Excellency if the Italian Government had made, or contemplated making, any communication of a similar purport to the French Government, to which he replied, that the policy of the Italian Government was one of entire passiveness, and to do nothing which should imply, in any way, a recognition or acceptance of the acts of the French Government in Tunis.

M. Mancini then said that it would be of great interest to the Italian Government to watch closely what was taking place at Paris in regard to the negotiations of the new Treaty; but he was placed in a position of great embarrassment owing to General Cialdini having resigned, excepting on certain conditions which it was impossible for him, M. Mancini, to accept.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 319.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8.)*

E  
(No. 561.)  
My Lord,

Paris, June 7, 1881.

I SPOKE to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire this afternoon of the statements in the newspapers that Mustapha Pasha, the Prime Minister of Tunis, was coming to Paris at the head of a Mission from the Bey.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that a desire that Mustapha Pasha should come to Paris to place his relations with the French Government on a suitable footing had been expressed by the Bey and by Mustapha himself, but that he did not think that Mustapha had yet left Tunis.

On the other hand, there was, his Excellency said, no truth in the reports that Mustapha's mission would be to obtain a revival of the Treaty of the 12th of last month. The French Government was not, he added, disposed to allow anything of the kind. Experience might show hereafter that some modification might be desirable, but the French Government had no intention of modifying the Treaty so soon after it had been signed.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 320.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 56 [?].)  
My Lord,

Tunis, May 27, 1881.

AN Englishman residing near Mater has got into difficulty with the General in command of the French troops quartered in that district. Further particulars are transmitted by post.

It is reported that the Prime Minister will proceed on a secret mission to Paris, and that he will take his departure on the 2nd instant.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 321.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 56.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, May 31, 1881.*

THE French gun-boat "Léopard," some days ago, boarded a British schooner called the "Santa Maria," off the Coniglieri Islands, while the latter was on her way from Malta to Monastir, and, after inspecting her papers and leaving two guards in her, accompanied her to Monastir, where she kept watch over her until the usual Custom-house visit had been effected, with the sanction of the Consular authority.

I have brought this case under the notice of Captain Tryon.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 322.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9, 10.15 P.M.)*

(No. 58.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, June 9, 1881, 5.20 P.M.*

THE French Representative, while announcing to all his colleagues the ratification of the Treaty of the 12th May, and his own promotion to the rank of Minister, informs us of a Bey's Decree whereby he is delegated to act as sole intermediary through whom all business between foreign Representatives and the Tunisian Government is henceforth to be transacted.

I beg to be instructed whether I should accept this new order of things, or insist, as heretofore, upon communicating directly with the Bey.

No. 323.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 10.)*

(No. 59.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, June 10, 1881.*

I AM secretly but confidentially informed that every possible pressure is brought to bear on the Sheikh-ul-Islam to compel him to pronounce against Levy in the Enfida case. The Sheikh is not allowed to resign, and will, I fear, eventually succumb in opposition to the written law.

No. 324.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 257.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, June 11, 1881, 5.10 P.M.*

MR. READE'S telegram No. 58.

Inquire at once whether M. Roustan has been authorized by the French Government to make this communication.

No. 325.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 27.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, June 11, 1881, 5.15 P.M.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 58 of the 9th instant, you should take no notice of M. Roustan's communication until you receive instructions.

No. 317 A.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 6.)*

Sir,

*Admiralty, June 4, 1881.*

WITH reference to previous correspondence respecting the alleged searching of an English vessel\* by the French gun-boat "Léopard," I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the perusal of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copies—

(a.) Of a despatch, dated the 27th May, from Captain Tryon, of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," forwarding copy of a communication received by him from the French Senior Naval Officer at Goletta; and

(b.) Of a telegram, dated the 2nd instant, from Captain Tryon, respecting a second case† in which an English vessel has been boarded by the "Léopard."

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

*Inclosure 1 in No. 317 A.*

*Captain Tryon to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

Sir,

*"Monarch," at Goletta, May 27, 1881.*

SINCE my letter of the 25th May Captain Riennier, the French Senior Naval Officer here, has addressed me a letter which contains the following passage referring to the boarding of the "Nuova Stella" :—

"Le fait s'est passé au mouillage des Iles Kerkennah, par conséquent, dans les eaux Tunisiennes : mais là, pas plus qu'ailleurs, un navire de guerre Français n'est et n'a été autorisé à visiter ("search") les navires étrangers, même ceux suspects et soupçonnés de porter de la contrebande de guerre.

"Les instructions sont précises. Nous n'avons jamais eu l'intention de nous arroger un droit de visite; mais simplement celle de surveiller la côte, les allures des navires, et de les signaler aux autorités Tunisiennes pour qu'elles puissent elles-mêmes, par leurs propres moyens, et sans une intervention quelconque de nos canonnières, s'opposer à un débarquement de contrebande de guerre. Si le Commandant du 'Léopard' n'a pas agi dans ce sens, il a mal compris et appliqué ses instructions."

2. The rest of the letter refers to matters of opinion, or to matters with which necessarily Captain Riennier is not of his own knowledge perfectly acquainted.

3. I replied, stating that the result of his conversation with me on the 24th left me with the impression, which is confirmed by his letter of the 25th, "that if there is a just cause for complaint, it is entirely due to a mistake."

4. He personally was anxious to impress on me that whatever error was made, it was the act of a very young and inexperienced officer.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. TRYON.

*Inclosure 2 in No. 317 A.*

*Captain Tryon to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

(Telegraphic.)

*"Monarch," at Goletta, Tunis, June 2, 1881.*

WHILE acting under the same orders as in the first case, "Léopard" boarded another English schooner. French Senior Naval Officer here, whose letter I quoted in mine of the 27th May, assures me again further breaches of international law. He had no communication with "Léopard" on the subject between the two cases. "Léopard" has left for Toulon; the vessel that relieves her has precise instructions to investigate. Guard has been placed in vessel as reported.



*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8.)*

(No. 227. Confidential.)  
(Extract.)

Rome, June 1, 1881.

IN the interview referred to in other despatches which I had with M. Depretis yesterday, turning to foreign affairs, His Excellency criticized severely the conduct of the French Government with regard to Tunis. No one, he said, had ever dreamt of contesting the supremacy of French influence in that Regency, and its invasion, with the Treaty by which the invasion had been followed, was not only at variance with the declarations of the French Government, but was as much without excuse or justification as it was contrary to all precedent in diplomacy or international procedure. It was not, however, his Excellency contended, a question on which the public in Italy felt a very deep interest. It had been made use of as a weapon of attack against the Government, but he defied any one to say what other course M. Cairoli or any other Minister could have followed under the circumstances. For himself, he considered that England was the country most interested in any territorial changes which might be effected in the Mediterranean, and what she put up with, Italy might very well accept. It had been the fashion to speak of the Mediterranean as becoming a French or an Italian lake. In his opinion, however, it must always be an English lake, for England was not only the most powerful country in it, but was the one whose political and commercial interests surpassed those of any other.

With regard to the future, therefore, his Excellency said, the policy of his Ministry would be the same as that which he had always himself professed, viz., to act in complete understanding with England; and it is only due to M. Depretis to record that this declaration is in perfect accordance with the language he has invariably held on previous occasions, and I am not aware that, at any time, it has been found inconsistent with his acts.

No. 318\*.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 8.)*

(No. 560.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 7, 1881.

I SAID to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire this morning that I had been not a little disquieted by intelligence which had reached me that, besides the "Nova Stella," another English vessel, the "Santa Maria," had been boarded by the French gun-boat "Léopard."

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire answered that he was very sorry to say that this was true. It was, he assured me, a cause of very great regret to him. He added that of course the boarding of the "Santa Maria" had taken place before the fresh instructions had reached the Commander of the "Léopard;" but that the instructions originally given him ought to have sufficed to prevent it.

I observed that it appeared that the "Santa Maria" had been boarded off Coniglieri, a small island very near the Tunisian coast; and I went on to say that I hoped that no distinction had been allowed to exist in the mind of the Commander of the "Léopard" between the high seas and Tunisian waters, so far as interference with foreign vessels was concerned.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire answered that, as France had neither conquered nor annexed Tunis, French cruisers had no more right to interfere with foreign vessels in Tunisian waters than they had to interfere with them on the high seas; and he assured me that the instructions to the French cruisers left no doubt on this point.

He concluded by expressing again his great regret at the "Santa Maria" having been visited by the "Léopard."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)*

(No. 564.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 8, 1881.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 560 of yesterday, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a telegram from the Commander of the French iron-clad "Jeanne d'Arc" to the Minister of Marine, respecting the boarding of the British vessel "Santa Maria" by the French gun-boat "Léopard."

The telegram states that after having come to an understanding with the Captain of the "Jeanne d'Arc," the Captain of the British iron-clad has written that this visit was the consequence of the mistake committed with regard to the first vessel (the "Nova Stella"), inasmuch as the Captain of the "Léopard" could not, in the interval between the two visits, have received the orders which had been sent to him.

The telegram has been communicated to me by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire with an autograph letter, a copy of which also I inclose. It states that nothing of the kind will occur again.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 321 A.

*The Commander of the "Jeanne d'Arc" to the Minister of Marine.*

(Télégraphique.)

La Goulette, le 1<sup>er</sup> Juin, 1881, 1 heure du soir.

LES incidents qui s'étaient produits lors de la première visite opérée par le "Léopard" se sont représentés pour la visite que ce navire a effectuée à bord de la "Stella" et "Maria."

Le cuirassé Anglais étant hier au large, son Commandant n'a pu être prévenu aujourd'hui; après s'être entendu avec moi, il a écrit que cette visite était la conséquence de l'erreur commise pour le premier navire parce que le Capitaine du "Léopard" n'avait pu, dans l'intervalle des deux visites, recevoir les ordres qui lui ont été envoyés. Sur l'avis du Commandant Britannique trois journalistes Anglais ont modifié leurs dépêches confiant dans sa décision. Le "Léopard" part à 2 heures avec beau temps.

Inclosure 2 in No. 321 A.

*M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to Lord Lyons.*

Mon cher Ambassadeur,

Paris, le 7 Juin, 1881.

VOICI la traduction du télégramme que M. le Ministre de la Marine a reçu du Commandant de la "Jeanne d'Arc." La seconde erreur a été la suite de la première, parce que, dans l'intervalle, le "Léopard" n'avait pas pu encore recevoir les instructions qu'avait provoquées la première visite. Il ne se reproduira plus rien de pareil.

Agréez, &c.  
(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.

No. 321 B.

*Petition addressed by General Zarouk to Earl Granville.—(Received June 9.)*

The humble Petition of General Mohamed Elaraby Zarouk, formerly President of the Tunis Municipality and a member of the Bey's Privy Council.

Sheweth:

THAT your petitioner's family has for several generations been in the service of the Tunis Government, and your petitioner himself has for more than forty years held important and responsible functions in the Bey's Government, and up to his departure from Tunis, a few days ago, he was the Chief of the Tunis Municipality and a member of the Bey's Privy Council.

That as such it was his duty, during the late difficulties, to urge repeatedly the Bey

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not to sacrifice the rights of his Suzerain, the independence of the country, and the interests of his religion and people to the demands of the French Republic. This opinion he frequently expressed, and he was the only member of the Council who up to the moment entreated the Bey to persist in his refusal to sign the Treaty which General Bréard eventually compelled him to accept.

That this resolute opposition caused his dismissal from the Bey's service.

That, not satisfied with this, the party now predominant in Tunis obtained against your petitioner an order of arrest at his own house, and that other measures endangering his own personal safety and that of his children were in preparation, when your petitioner obtained refuge in the British Consulate at Tunis.

That through the intervention of Mr. Reade, Her Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, your petitioner was allowed to leave the country, with his two sons, leaving in Tunis a numerous and young family, and all his private property.

That all these facts are perfectly known to Her Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Tunis, who, in a personal interview with the Bey, assured himself that no legitimate ground for complaint and no claim of any sort could be brought by the Bey against your petitioner, and that your petitioner's expulsion was simply due to his aforesaid opposition.

That, moreover, your petitioner has no intention whatever to create any embarrassment to the Tunisian Government, and is now bound for Mecca, where he intends to fix his residence.

He feels that, in the present state of affairs in Tunis, his family and property are exposed to any arbitrary acts which the Bey, in the powerless condition to which he is now reduced, may be compelled to adopt against your petitioner.

Your petitioner is convinced that if Her Britannic Majesty's Government were to instruct their Agent in Tunis to extend to your petitioner's young family the protection which has been granted to him, the dangers which your petitioner apprehends would certainly be averted.

Your petitioner knows that he has no legal claim to British protection; but, like all Mussulmans, he has been accustomed to look up to England as the supreme representative of right and justice, as the natural protector of the weak and the oppressed; and he earnestly and confidently appeals to that traditional policy which has made the name of England respected and blessed throughout the Mussulman world.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

(Signed)

MOHAMED ELARABY ZAROUK.

50, Seymour Street, W., June 9, 1881.

Meanwhile, you should, if possible, avoid any steps that would give rise to a discussion with the Tunisian Government or with M. Roustan himself as to the latter's pretensions.

No. 326.

*General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received June 11.)*

(Très Urgente et très Confidentielle.)

M. ROUSTAN vient d'adresser aux Agents étrangers accrédités à Tunis une note par laquelle il leur communique le Traité du 12 Mai dernier, sa nomination aux fonctions de Ministre Résident, plus un Décret du Bey qui le nomme son seul intermédiaire officiel pour les rapports avec les Représentants des Puissances étrangères auprès de sa personne, et le charge, en même temps, de leur en donner participation officielle.

M. Roustan conclut sa note en annonçant qu'il est entré dans l'exercice de ses doubles fonctions, et il demande aux susdits Représentants la réciprocité de ses bons sentiments.

En réponse à cette communication l'Agent et Consul-Général d'Italie à Tunis, se conformant aux instructions qu'il avait reçues de ne faire aucun acte qui puisse préjuger la situation du Gouvernement du Roi vis-à-vis du régime établi par le Traité Français, s'est abstenu, ainsi que ses collègues, de toute réponse à M. Roustan.

Toutefois, il n'a pas manqué de soumettre la susdite communication au Ministère Royal des Affaires Etrangères, en faisant remarquer que l'Article V du Traité Franco-Tunisien ne paraît pas avoir la portée qu'on lui suppose, relativement aux nouvelles attributions de M. Roustan, et que, d'autre part, le Bey n'a fait aucune démarche auprès des Représentants étrangers à Tunis dans le sens du Décret susmentionné.

Dans cet état de choses, l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie à Londres a l'honneur, d'après les instructions qu'il a reçues de son Gouvernement, d'avoir recours à l'obligeance accoutumée de son Excellence le Comte Granville, en le priant de vouloir bien lui faire connaître, le plus tôt possible, l'opinion du Cabinet de la Reine sur la communication de M. Roustan, et quelles instructions son Excellence aurait l'intention de donner à l'Agent Britannique à Tunis à ce sujet.

35, Queen's Gate, Londres, le 11 Juin, 1881.

No. 327.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 553. Extender.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, June 11, 1881.*

YOUR Excellency will have learnt from Mr. Reade's telegram of the 9th instant that M. Roustan, whilst announcing to his colleagues the ratification of the Treaty of the 12th May, and his own promotion to the rank of Minister, had informed the Consular Body that the Bey had issued a Decree whereby he (M. Roustan) is delegated to act as sole intermediary through whom all business between foreign Representatives and the Tunisian Government is to be henceforward transacted.

I have to request that your Excellency will lose no time in ascertaining whether M. Roustan has been authorized by the French Government to make the communication referred to by Mr. Reade.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 328.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 32. Extender.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 11, 1881.*

I LEARN by your telegram No. 58 of the 9th instant that the French Minister has informed you of a Decree issued by the Bey by which he is appointed to act as sole intermediary through whom all business is to be transacted for the future between the foreign Representatives and the Tunisian Government.

I have to instruct you to take no notice of this communication until you receive

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instructions from Her Majesty's Government, and meanwhile to avoid, if possible, any step which might give rise to a discussion with the Bey's Government or with M. Roustan himself as to the position which he claims to assume.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 329.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(Extender of Telegram No. 57.)

My Lord,

Tunis, June 4, 1881.

THE "Santa Maria" was boarded by the French gun-boat "Léopard," on the 23rd May. I have only this moment received this information from the British Consular Agent.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 330.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 580.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 11, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship an article from the unofficial Paris newspaper the "Journal des Débats," stating that the Bey of Tunis has signed a Decree charging M. Roustan, the French Minister Resident at Tunis, with the relations between the Tunisian Government and the foreign Representatives at Tunis.

The article states also that the Tunisian Mission will consist of Mustapha-ben-Ismaïl, of General Elias, and Dr. Mascard, that its departure is fixed for to-morrow (Sunday, the 12th), and that it will be conveyed to France by the French iron-clad "Jeanne d'Arc."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 330.

Extract from the "Journal des Débats" of June 11, 1881.

Tunis, le 9 Juin, 1881, 5 h. soir.

DANS la matinée, M. Roustan, avec le personnel de la Légation en grand costume, s'est rendu au Palais du Bey, à la Goulette; il a présenté la ratification du Traité du 12 Mai et les lettres de commission qui lui donnent le titre de Ministre Résident.

Le Bey a signé un Décret chargeant M. Roustan, en exécution du Traité, de toutes relations entre le Gouvernement Tunisien et les Représentants étrangers à Tunis.

Le départ de la Mission Tunisienne pour Paris est fixé définitivement à Dimanche prochain.

La Mission sera composée de Mustapha-ben-Ismaïl, du Général Elias, Directeur des Affaires Étrangères, et du Dr. Mascard; une suite nombreuse les accompagnera.

La Mission prendra passage sur le navire Français "Jeanne d'Arc."

No. 331.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 583.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 12, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a note which I have sent this morning to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, in pursuance of your Lordship's instruction respecting the announcement made by M. Roustan that, in virtue of a Decree of the Bey,

he was delegated to act as sole intermediary between the foreign Representatives at Tunis and the Tunisian Government.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 331.

Lord Lyons to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, June 12, 1881.

HER Majesty's Government are informed that M. Roustan has announced to the Representatives of foreign Powers at Tunis that, by a Decree of the Bey, he is delegated to act as sole intermediary through whom all business between foreign Representatives and the Tunisian Government is henceforth to be transacted.

Her Majesty's Government have, in consequence, instructed me to inquire of your Excellency whether M. Roustan has been authorized by the French Government to make this communication.

In executing this instruction, I avail, &c.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 332.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 13.)

Sir,

Admiralty, June 11, 1881.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the perusal of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copies of despatches dated the 2nd and 4th instant, which have been received from Captain G. Tryon, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Monarch" at Goletta, respecting the boarding of the British schooner "Santa Maria" by the French gunboat "Léopard" off the Tunisian coast, and the communications on the subject which he had had with the French Senior Naval Officer at Goletta.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 332.

Captain Tryon to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

Sir,

"Monarch," Goletta, June 2, 1881.

ON the 1st June I was informed by Mr. Reade that "the 'Léopard' came up with and boarded an English schooner called the 'Santa Maria.' The Commander and surgeon went on board, and, after inspecting the ship's papers, left two men in her as guards. The gun-boat then accompanied the schooner to Monastir, where she withdrew the guards from on board, and, lying on one side of her, and keeping an armed boat on the other, kept watch over her until the usual custom-house visit was effected, with the consent of the British Consular authority."

2. I went on board the "Jeanne d'Arc," and saw Captain Riennier on the subject. Lieutenant Mallariné, commanding the "Léopard," was present part of the time.

3. I learnt from him the "Santa Maria" was under weigh in a fresh breeze with the English colours flying, passing between the Kurat Islands. The "Léopard" was at anchor. He boarded her himself, the vessel letting fly her sheets, in a boat pulling two oars, accompanied by a Maltese interpreter; he asked whether she had powder on board, &c., and finally pulled back to his ship, then a considerable distance, two miles off, and in her followed the vessel to Monastir, where he demanded of the Tunisian authorities that she should be searched. He did not put a guard on board.

4. This second case of search by the "Léopard" occurred after that of the "Nuova Stella," and, I believe, on the 22nd May, but of this I am not sure; but I was assured that the "Léopard" was acting under the same misapprehension as to his duties as he was on the 19th, and that, from Captain Riennier, under whose orders he had been placed the day before (viz., on the 18th), he had not received any fresh orders.

5. The orders, Captain Riennier assures me, under which the vessels are now acting, "are precisely in accordance with the terms quoted in my letter of the 27th May, that there will be no further similar breach of international law: those orders are designed to secure this."

6. I have not felt it my duty to inquire how far this permissive search by Tunisian authorities can rightly be demanded by French vessels of war.

7. This searching of vessels by Tunisian authorities, after obtaining the consent of the Consul of the nation to which the vessels belong, was originated in a desire to assist the Bey in checking a large contraband trade, which has been, and which still is, carried on on the coast of Tunis, chiefly in tobacco and powder, which are Government monopolies.

8. France, as well as England, has consented to this arrangement, but I cannot learn that Italy or other nations have consented to it.

9. If not carefully watched and guarded, this searching appears to me to be open to abuse.

10. At the instance of the Commander of the "Léopard," I understand a search was made of a number of small boats by the Tunisian authorities, in the presence of Consular servants, near the Kuriat Islands; nothing was found in them, but on shore, buried in the sand, 180 barrels of powder were found.

11. Tunis and this district are perfectly tranquil, so far as safety to life is concerned.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 332.

*Paraphrase of Telegram sent by Captain Tryon.*

"Monarch," at Goletta, Tunis, June 3, 1881.

I AM assured by the Senior French Naval Officer, Captain Reinnier, that the vessel that has relieved the "Léopard" has precise instructions that will prevent further cause of offence or breach of International Law. The "Léopard" boarded the "Santa Maria" when acting under the same orders as in the case of the "Nuova Stella," and he had no communication with "Léopard" on the subject between the two cases. No guard was placed on board the "Santa Maria," as reported. My letter of the 27th May is referred to.

The above was also telegraphed to the Commander-in-chief.

Inclosure 3 in No. 332.

*Captain Tryon to Vice-Admiral Sir B. Seymour.*

Sir, "Monarch," Goletta, June 4, 1881.

WITH reference to my letter of the 2nd instant, in the third paragraph, I state that the Captain of the "Léopard" did not put a guard on board. This should have run, "a guard was not put on board in the way stated in the report Mr. Reade has received, but when the two ships arrived at Monastir a man was put on board, and I understand he remained a short time, and till the Tunisian authorities acted."

2. It appears the "Léopard" was placed under Captain Riennier on the 24th May, and he tells me the "Santa Maria" was boarded on the 23rd.

3. My information is derived from Mr. Reade's report, and from what the Captains of the "Jeanne d'Arc" and "Léopard" have told me.

4. Captain Riennier informed me to-day that Admiral Conrad, in the "Gallisière," had received his orders to sail for his station, the Levant, and that he expected his own to return to France.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. TRYON.

No. 333.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13.)*

(No. 54.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 12, 1881, 11 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 257 of yesterday.

In answer to my inquiry, French Minister for Foreign Affairs writes that the French Government, having been informed of the resolution taken by the Bey to delegate to the French Resident by a special Decree the functions of official intermediary between the Tunisian Government and the Agents of the foreign Powers, authorized M. Roustan to accept this delegation, and to give notice of it in a suitable form to the Representatives of the Powers.

No. 334.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 13, 5 P.M.)*

(No. 60.)

(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, June 13, 1881, 11:50 A.M.

THE Prime Minister left yesterday for France in the "Jeanne d'Arc," his suite consisting chiefly of persons who form M. Roustan's *entourage*.

No. 335.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 242 B.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 13, 1881.

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and asked me what course Her Majesty's Government proposed to pursue with reference to the recent Decree of the Bey of Tunis, in which the French Representative is made the intermediary between the Tunisian Government and the Agents of other countries.

I answered his Excellency that it did not appear that the Decree in question would affect the Treaty rights of Her Majesty's Government or of British subjects in Tunis, which the French Government had engaged to recognize.

General Menabrea said that what he especially wanted to know was the manner in which we should treat the question of the representation of Tunisian interests by French Consular Agents in this country, should we admit the claim or should we maintain that any business of this nature must come through the Turkish Embassy?

In Italy, his Excellency said, the Government had refused to admit Consular appointments by the Bey, but they had recognized the appointment of Commercial Agents. The Bey might, therefore, appoint the French Consul at any place in Italy to represent Tunisian interests, but this could not necessarily constitute him a Tunisian Consul; he would in this respect be only Commercial Agent.

General Menabrea argued that the question was one of still greater delicacy for us than for the Italian Government, as we had always maintained the existence of the Sultan's suzerainty over Tunis.

I replied that we had no Tunisian Consul in this country.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 336.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 14.)*

(No. 586.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 12, 1881.

WITH my despatch No. 583 of this day I forwarded to your Lordship a copy of a note in which, in obedience to your orders, I had inquired of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire whether M. Roustan's recent communication to the foreign Representatives at Tunis was authorized by the French Government.

I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of an answer which I have received from M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.

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As I have already had the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph, the purport of the answer is that M. Roustan was authorized by his Government to accept the functions of official intermediary between the Tunisian Government and the Agents of foreign Powers, and to notify this to the Representatives of the Powers.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 336.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to Lord Lyons.

M. l'Ambassadeur, Paris, le 12 Juin, 1881.  
POUR répondre à la demande que vous me faites l'honneur de m'adresser sous la date de ce jour, je m'empresse de vous faire savoir que le Gouvernement de la République, ayant été informé de la résolution prise par le Bey de Tunis, de déléguer au Résident Français en Tunisie, par un Décret Spécial, les fonctions d'intermédiaire officiel entre le Gouvernement Tunisien et les Agents des Puissances étrangères, a autorisé M. Roustan à accepter cette délégation, et à en donner avis dans la forme convenable, aux Représentants des Puissances.

Agréez, &c.  
(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.

No. 337.

Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 14.)

(Télégraphique.) Constantinople, le 12 Juin, 1881.  
UN télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par le Gouverneur-Général de Tripoli d'Afrique annonce que le Consul-Général de France lui a fait savoir par une note, datée du 6 de ce mois, qu'aux termes du Traité d'Alliance, conclu le 12 Mai dernier, entre le Gouvernement de la République et le Pacha de Tunis, les Consuls et Agents Diplomatiques Français sont désormais chargés de la protection des Tunisiens et de la direction de toutes les affaires qui les concernent; qu'en conséquence il s'est mis en mesure de dresser et de remettre aux autorités locales la liste des Tunisiens pour les faire reconnaître comme protégés Français par ces dernières. M. le Consul-Général de la République a cru devoir, simultanément avec cette démarche auprès de l'Administration de Tripoli, afficher sur son hôtel une Proclamation dans le sens qui précède.

Le Gouverneur-Général s'est empressé, comme il devait le faire, de relever le caractère insolite de la communication Consulaire, en déclarant, à son tour, à l'Agent Français qu'il ne saurait y donner aucune suite et n'était, d'ailleurs, muni d'aucune autorisation de la Sublime Porte à cet égard.

Nous nous trouvons ainsi, d'un côté, en présence d'une série de conditions imposées au Pacha de Tunis, conditions absolument contraires aux obligations internationales et directement attentatoires aux droits de souveraineté de notre Auguste Maître sur cette province, et, de l'autre, sous le coup de la mise à exécution immédiate d'une disposition découlant du Traité en question du 12 Mai, et dont les conséquences se traduiront par une perturbation profonde dans les rapports des sujets Tunisiens du Sultan avec une autorité séculaire et légitime qui leur est chère à plus d'un titre, et dont ils ne veulent pas se séparer.

Le fait, en lui-même, de la Proclamation soudaine d'une protection à exercer de la part d'une Puissance étrangère sur des sujets d'un Gouvernement dont les droits inaliénables, démontrés déjà par nous à l'évidence, ont été méconnus, et qui ne cessera d'élever la voix, comme il l'a déjà fait par sa dépêche protestative du 10 Mai dernier, contre ce qui s'est passé le 12 du même mois à Tunis, n'échappera certainement pas à l'appréciation juste et éclairée des Puissances amies.

En vous signalant donc la manière d'agir de M. le Consul-Général de France à Tripoli d'Afrique, je vous invite à la soumettre à la sérieuse et bienveillante attention de son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, et à lui déclarer en même temps que nous maintenons plus que jamais les droits de la Sublime Porte sur la Tunisie; que, n'ayant déjà reconnu aucune force ni valeur au dit Traité imposé au Pacha de Tunis, ni à ce qui pourrait être fait ultérieurement, dans le même sens, en dehors de la participation et

du consentement de l'autorité souveraine, nous ne saurions dès lors, aussi logiquement que légalement, admettre aucune prétention des Agents Français, ni aucune des mesures qu'ils croiraient devoir rendre exécutoires au nom de leur Gouvernement en ce qui concerne l'administration et la population de Tunis tant dans cette province que dans les autres parties de l'Empire.

Vous voudrez bien remettre également une copie de cette dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

No. 338.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15.)

(No. 177)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 7, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have been informed on good authority that M. Monge, the Acting French Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, has notified to the Egyptian Government that under Clause VI of the Treaty between the French Republic and the Bey of Tunis of the 12th May, 1881, all Tunisians residing in Egypt are to be henceforth considered under French protection.

The Tunisians in Egypt number from 8,000 to 10,000 persons.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

No. 339.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15.)

(No. 239.)

My Lord,

Rome, June 10, 1881.

IN a recent interview I had with M. Mancini his Excellency informed me that he was frequently being questioned by the Turkish Ambassador as to the action which the Italian Government intended taking in consequence of the protest of the Porte against the Treaty which had been imposed by the French Government upon the Bey of Tunis.

He had answered these inquiries, he said, by stating that as yet the Italian Government had no official knowledge of this Treaty, as it had never been communicated to them in an official shape.

His Excellency went on to repeat what he had told me in a previous interview, as reported in my despatch No. 232, Confidential, of the 3rd instant, that the policy of the Italian Government was to avoid doing or saying anything which could be interpreted as a recognition of the new order of things established at Tunis.

The instructions to the Italian Consul in Tunis, his Excellency added, were in this sense, though, at the same time, he had been desired to abstain from anything calculated to create any difficulties or to raise any question.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 340.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 15, 5 P.M.)

(No. 61.)

(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, June 15, 1881, noon.

A HAVAS telegram announcing acceptance by the British Government of the Bey's Decree appointing the French Minister to represent His Highness in all matters of difference between him and the foreign Representatives here has had a very depressing effect upon the European community in general. To leave so many thousands of British subjects to the arbitrary and capricious disposition of a gentleman who has given so many proofs of hostility to all that is English would be, it is thought, independently of all other considerations, to the last degree prejudicial to British interests.

Among other acts of favouritism to M. Roustan's protégés, a concession has been granted to a French subject named Daninos for a bank or pawning establishment with exclusive privileges for a term of fifty years. Besides the immoral form of usury characteristic of this establishment, it appears to be in opposition to Treaty engagements.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 28.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 15, 1881, 10 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 27 of the 11th instant, Her Majesty's Government are advised that the appointment by the Bey of M. Roustan as intermediary for Foreign Affairs does not affect our Treaty rights.

You will therefore continue to transact business in the manner in which you have been used to do with the Government of Tunis, although there has been a change of persons; but when you are referred by that Government to M. Roustan for the communication of its views, you will communicate with him accordingly.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 33. Extender.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, June 15, 1881.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 32 of the 11th instant, relative to the position assumed by M. Roustan at Tunis, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government are advised that the appointment of that gentleman by the Bey as intermediary for Foreign Affairs does not affect the rights secured to this country by its Treaties with the Bey of Tunis.

You will therefore continue to transact business with the Government of Tunis in the manner in which you have been accustomed to do so, although there has been a change of persons; but when you are referred by that Government to M. Roustan for the communication of its views, you will communicate with him accordingly.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 29.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 16, 1881, 4:30 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 61 of yesterday.  
What Treaty do you consider concession opposed to?

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 30.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Foreign Office, June 16, 1881, 6:10 P.M.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 75 of the 6th, you had better inform Mr. Smith, in reply to his letter of the 30th ultimo, that you do not wish to interfere with his movements.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 34. Extender.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, June 16, 1881.*

IN your telegram No. 61 of yesterday you state that a concession has been granted to a French subject named Daninos for a bank or pawning establishment, with exclusive privileges for fifty years, and that this appears to be in opposition to Treaty engagements.

I have to instruct you to report to me to what Treaty engagement you refer as being, in your opinion, infringed by the granting of the concession in question.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*(No. 35. Extender.)  
Sir,*Foreign Office, June 16, 1881.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 75 of the 6th instant, inclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. T. L. Smith, in which that gentleman gives his account of the difficulty which arose between him and General Maurand, the Commander of the French troops in the Mater district, and which led to his leaving the district and proceeding to Tunis.

I have to instruct you to inform Mr. Smith, in reply to his letter, that you do not desire to interfere with his movements.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Earl Granville to Musurus Pasha.*

M. l'Ambassadeur,

*Foreign Office, June 16, 1881.*

WHEN your Excellency did me the honour of calling at the Foreign Office on the 14th instant you expressed a wish to be furnished with a written answer to the communications respecting Tunis which you were good enough to leave with me on the 18th ultimo.

The first of those communications seems to have been intended to be received in the nature of a protest, and has, I presume, been addressed to all the other Powers as well as Her Majesty's Government. It does not call for any expression of opinion on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and, under the actual circumstances, I abstain from offering any.

With regard to the second despatch, in which Assim Pasha states that Her Majesty's Government had declared that they would not consent to a modification of the *status quo* in Tunis, I have the honour to point out to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have only said that they were favourable to its maintenance, but they have never stated that they would not consent to any change in it.

I have to add that Her Majesty's Government would have been quite ready to offer their mediation, in common with the other Powers who signed the Treaty of Berlin, had they had any reason to believe that those Powers would have agreed to join in such an offer, or that France would have accepted it had such an agreement been arrived at.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)*(No. 73.)  
My Lord,*Tunis, May 25, 1881.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 53 of the 23rd instant, reporting the boarding and searching of a British schooner called the "Nuova Stella" by a French war steamer called the "Léopard," I have the honour to transmit translation of a despatch from the Acting Consular Agent at Sfax informing me of the occurrence.

I have requested the Consular Agent to cause a detailed statement of all that occurred to be drawn up, sworn to and signed by the master, and as soon as I am in possession of that statement, I shall immediately forward it to your Lordship's Office.

In the meanwhile, I have brought the matter under the notice of Captain Tryon, of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.



Inclosure in No. 348.

*M. Leonardi to Mr. Reade.*

(Translation.)

*Sfax, May 20, 1881.*

Sir, I HAVE the honour to bring to your notice a verbal report made to me by Captain G. Cassar, of the British schooner "Nuova Stella," arrived in this roadstead from Malta yesterday.

The said captain reports that, when he arrived near Kerkna, through stress of weather, he anchored on those shoals. He then saw a French gun-boat, called "Léopard," approach, and soon after a boat left the said gun-boat with an officer, who went on board the schooner. The national flag was hoisted on the schooner as soon as the gun-boat had made its appearance.

The officer went on board without permission, and in a discourteous way visited the cabins of the captain and sailors, without, however, finding any gunpowder, stating, at the same time, that he was sent on board for inspection.

Then the officer ordered the captain to allow him to visit the hold. Captain Cassar observed to him that it was impossible to do so, as the hold, as well as the deck, was full of merchandize, and that such an inspection could not, therefore, take place without a good deal of damage to the goods and loss of time.

Not being satisfied with this reply, the French officer prohibited the ship from sailing or continuing her voyage till the inspection had taken place.

The captain, therefore, protested against such a violation of his rights, and held the French captain responsible for all damages that would arise. Such, however, was the pressure put upon him by the officer, that he was obliged to make a declaration, engaging his ship and person that there was no gunpowder on board, a fact which could, with his Consul's permission, be verified in case he would be willing to accompany him to Sfax.

The officer was satisfied with this proposal, and after receiving the said declaration went on board the gun-boat, which accompanied the ship to this anchorage.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) GIUS. LEONARDI.

No. 349.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)*

(No. 76.)

*Tunis, June 10, 1881.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday, announcing the receipt of a circular letter from M. Roustan, informing his colleagues that he had been delegated by His Highness the Bey to act as sole intermediary for the transaction of all business between the Tunisian Government and Foreign Representatives at this place, I have the honour to inclose a copy of that letter and of two of its inclosures. The wording of the Treaty, as communicated by M. Roustan, being identical with what appears at p. 8 of the Correspondence, No. 3 (1881), respecting the affairs of Tunis which has been laid before Parliament, I have not thought it necessary to add a copy of that document.

The purport of the Bey's letter being, as it appears to me, so irregular, and so opposed to the principle of independent diplomatic action, as well as to the spirit, if not to the very letter, of the Treaties which assure to us the same privileges and personal regard as are enjoyed by the most favoured nation, I have determined to await your Lordship's instructions before replying to M. Roustan's circular.

I do not know whether it is right to refer to so ancient a Treaty as that of 1751, but, in the XVth Article of that instrument, it is distinctly stated that no foreign Consul in this Regency shall take precedence of the English.

Respecting the new arrangement for the transaction of the general business of the various foreign Agencies and Consulates here, its intolerable character must be too apparent to your Lordship to necessitate any comment on my part. If it is to stand, I fail to see how it will be possible to settle the Enfida and some other cases in which British interests clash with those of France.

I may here, perhaps, be permitted to remark, that since the conclusion of the late Treaty there is no doubt the interests of British subjects in this country have not been so scrupulously respected by the powers that be as one may be led to infer from the assurances which are contained in M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire's late circular.

The Bey, it will be observed, has not communicated his Decree in a direct or regular

manner. The interference, therefore, of the French Representative with the Treaty engagements that exist between Tunis, England, and other foreign Powers appears to be all the more offensive and unwarranted.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 349.

*M. Roustan to Mr. Reade.**M. l'Agent et Consul-Général,**Tunis, le 9 Juin, 1881.*

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer que je viens de remettre entre les mains de Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis l'acte de ratification du Traité de Garantie conclu le 12 Mai dernier entre le Gouvernement de la République Française et celui de la Régence, et dont vous trouverez ci-joint copie.

L'Article V de ce Traité, stipulant que le Gouvernement Français sera représenté auprès de Son Altesse le Bey par un Ministre Résident, M. le Président de la République a bien voulu me confier ces fonctions, en vertu de la commission dont je vous transmets également une copie ci-annexée.

De son côté, Son Altesse le Bey, en vue d'assurer, en ce qui le concerne, l'exécution du Traité de Garantie, a délégué, par un Décret dont vous trouverez ci-joint la traduction, le Ministre Résident de la République comme son seul mandataire pour les rapports avec les Agents des Puissances étrangères à Tunis.

En portant ces divers actes à votre connaissance, j'ai à cœur de vous assurer de mon vif désir de maintenir, dans les doubles fonctions dont je me trouve investi, les bonnes relations qui existent entre nos deux Gouvernements et entre eux et celui de Son Altesse le Bey, et j'espère pouvoir compter de votre part sur la réciprocité de ces sentiments.

Agréez, &amp;c.

Le Ministre Résident de la République Française,

(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 349.

*Commission.*

JULES GRÉVY, Président de la République Française, à tous ceux qui ces présentes lettres verront, salut :

Désirant assurer d'une manière solide et durable les rapports d'amitié et bon voisinage entre la République Française et la Tunisie, et nous confiant entièrement en la capacité, prudence, et patriotisme de M. Roustan, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de première classe, Commandeur de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur, &c., nous avons fait choix de sa personne pour remplir et exercer les fonctions de Ministre Résident de la République en Tunisie, et, par les présentes, nous le nommons et établissons en cette qualité, conformément aux dispositions de l'Article V du Traité signé le 12 Mai, 1881, entre la France et Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis, afin qu'il jouisse des honneurs, autorité, et prérogatives attachés à la dite charge, qu'il veille à la fidèle exécution du Traité susmentionné, en toutes et chacune de ses dispositions, et de toutes autres Conventions intervenues et à intervenir, et qu'il soit l'intermédiaire des rapports du Gouvernement Français avec les autorités Tunisiennes pour toutes les affaires communes aux deux pays.

En foi de quoi nous avons fait apposer à ses présentes le sceau de la République.

Écrit à Paris, le 20 Mai, 1881.

(L.S.)

(Signé)

JULES GRÉVY.

Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de la  
République Française,

(Contresigné) B. ST. HILAIRE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 349.

*Decree of the Bey of Tunis.*

(Traduction.)

VU les Articles IV, V, et VI du Traité de Garantie conclu entre la Régence et le Gouvernement de la République Française ;

Considérant que l'exécution des dits Articles nécessite l'intervention constante du Ministre Résident de la République dans les rapports entre notre Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et les Agents des Puissances à Tunis, et désirant éviter les complications qui peuvent résulter de cet état de choses pour la prompte expédition des affaires ;

Déléguons le Ministre Résident de la République Française comme notre seul intermédiaire officiel pour les rapports avec les Représentants des Puissances Etrangères accrédités auprès de notre personne ;

Invitons le dit Ministre Résident à communiquer officiellement et en notre nom le présent Décret au Gouvernement de la République et aux Agents des Puissances Etrangères à Tunis.

Écrit le 11 Redjeb, 1298 (8 Juin, 1881).

(Signé) MOUSTAPHA.

Pour copie conforme :

Le Ministre Résident de la République Française,  
(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

No. 350.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 58.)

My Lord,

Tunis, June 9, 1881.

A CIRCULAR letter was this day received from the French Representative announcing that the Treaty of the 12th May has been formally ratified ; that he himself has been promoted to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary of the first class to hold office here as Minister Resident ; and that he has been delegated by the Bey to act as sole intermediary for the transaction of all business between the Tunisian Government and the Representatives of foreign Powers at this place. A copy of the Bey's Decree to this effect accompanied M. Roustan's Circular.

I beg I may be instructed as to whether I should accept this new order of things, or insist, as heretofore, upon communicating directly with His Highness the Bey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 351.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 59.)

My Lord,

Tunis, June 10, 1881.

INFORMATION has reached me confidentially from a reliable source that every possible pressure is being put upon the Sheikh-el-Islam with a view to compel him to declare himself in favour of the Société Marseillaise in the Enfida case. The Sheikh desires to resign his office, but is prevented doing so by the Bey and his Minister. It is very probable that he will not be able to withstand the above pressure, and that judgment will be pronounced against Levy, and in direct opposition to the written law of the country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 352.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Tenterden.—(Received June 17.)*

Sir,

Admiralty, June 16, 1881.

WITH reference to a note of the 8th instant from Earl Granville to the Earl of Northbrook, returning certain correspondence respecting the overhauling of the British schooner "Nuova Stella" by the French war-ship "Léopard," I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, as requested by Lord Granville, copies of the correspondence alluded to, together with a copy of an unofficial letter from Captain Tryon, of Her Majesty's ship "Monarch," dated the 27th ultimo, to Admiral Sir Cooper Key, in which the said correspondence was inclosed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT HALL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 352.

*Captain Tryon to Admiral Sir Cooper Key.*

Dear Admiral Key,

"Monarch," at Tunis, May 27, 1881.

I SEND you unofficially the full text of the only correspondence I have had with Riennier. I should not have entered into it had he not written to me. He came to me after he had written on the 26th. I read to him the Captain of the "Nuova Stella's" statement, for I felt he could not even inquire fully into the case without knowing something from the other side. I gathered from what he said that there was more than was in his letter, but he is clearly, but imperfectly, acquainted with facts, and that, I believe, at second-hand.

The "Corse" goes to-day to relieve the "Léopard," who returns here.

I presume I shall receive some instructions ; if not, if Riennier comes to me on the matter, I propose to continue on the line I have taken not to make a mountain out of a mole-hill, but to stick to the point, which is acknowledged to be a "blunder."

I have heard a rumour that the French had, or pretended to have, information that a vessel had left Malta with powder, &c., and that the wrong vessel was tackled.

The intercourse between myself and Riennier is far more frank and friendly than the correspondence shows. His letter was the result of our conversation when I pressed him a bit before I stopped, but it was entirely voluntary and unexpected, and after conversation with Roustan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. TRYON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 352.

*Mr. Leonardi to Mr. Reade.*

Sir,

Sfax, May 20, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to bring to your notice a verbal report made to me by Captain G. Cassar, of the British schooner "Nuova Stella," arrived in this roadstead from Malta yesterday.

The said Captain reports that when he arrived near Kerkna through stress of weather he anchored on those shoals. He then saw a French gun-boat called "Léopard" approach, and soon after a boat left the said gun-boat with an officer, who went on board the British schooner. The national flag was hoisted on the British schooner as soon as the gun-boat had made its appearance.

The officer went on board without permission, and in a discourteous way visited the cabins of the Captain and sailors, without, however, finding any gunpowder, stating, at the same time, that he was sent on board for inspection.

Then the officer ordered the Captain to allow him to visit the hold. Captain Cassar observed to him that it was impossible to do so, as the hold as well as the deck was full of merchandize, and that such an inspection could not therefore take place without a good deal of damage to the goods and loss of time.

Not being satisfied with this reply, the French officer prohibited the ship from sailing or continuing her voyage till the inspection had taken place.

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The Captain thereupon protested against such a violation of his rights, and held the French Captain responsible for all damages that would arise. Such, however, was the pressure put upon him by the officer, that he was obliged to make a declaration engaging his ship and person that there was no gunpowder on board, a fact which could, with his Consul's permission, be verified in case he would be willing to accompany him to that place.

The officer was satisfied with this proposal, and, after receiving the said declaration, went on board the gun-boat, which accompanied the ship to this anchorage.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. LEONARDI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 352.

Captain Riennier to Captain Tryon.

Mon cher Commandant Tryon,

*La Goulette, le 25 Mai, 1881.*

J'AI reçu des renseignements sur l'affaire de la prétendue visite dont je vous remercie de m'avoir entretenu hier.

Le fait s'est passé au mouillage des Iles Kerkennah, par conséquent dans les eaux Tunisiennes; mais là, pas plus qu'ailleurs, un navire de guerre Français n'est et n'a été autorisé à visiter ("search") les navires étrangers, même ceux suspects et soupçonnés de porter de la contrebande de guerre.

Les instructions sont précises. Nous n'avons jamais eu l'intention de nous arroger un droit de visite, mais simplement celui de surveiller la côte, les allures des navires, et de les signaler aux autorités Tunisiennes pour qu'elles puissent elles-mêmes, par leurs propres moyens, et sans une intervention quelconque de nos canonnières, s'opposer à un débarquement de contrebande de guerre.

Si le Commandement du "Léopard" n'a pas agi dans ce sens, il a mal compris et appliqué ses instructions.

Pour le fait qui nous intéresse, un officier du "Léopard" a simplement demandé la nationalité du navire et la nature du chargement. Le "Léopard" allant à Sfax, s'est trouvé faire la même route que le bâtiment marchand qui avait aussi ce port comme destination; mais il n'y a eu aucun ordre donné par la canonnière, ni aucune observation faite au navire qui a fait la route qui lui convenait.

Ainsi que j'avais l'honneur de vous le dire hier, mon cher Commandant, il n'y a eu ni visite, ni excès de zèle de la part du Capitaine du "Léopard," mais un simple malentendu commis par un très jeune officier. Il n'a pas été fait de visite proprement dite, et à plus forte raison de *search*, qui, dans notre langue, signifie perquisition.

Telle est l'exacte vérité, et vous avez bien raison de penser que s'il y a eu un léger tort de la part du "Léopard," cela ne peut être et ne peut devenir un motif de tiraillements entre nos deux Gouvernements, quelque intérêt que certaines personnes puissent y trouver.

Veuillez, &c.

Le Commandant de Vaisseau, Commandant la "Jeanne d'Arc,"  
Commandant Supérieur en rade de Tunis,  
(Signé) H. RIENNIER.

Inclosure 4 in No. 352.

Captain Tryon to Captain Riennier.

My dear Captain Riennier,

*"Monarch," Tunis, May 25, 1881.*

I HAVE to thank you very much for your letter, and for the very friendly and frank way you met me yesterday when I came to meet you on the subject of boarding an English schooner by the "Léopard."

I came as soon as possible after I heard of it, and when I was very imperfectly informed, as I still am, as to reliable details. The result of my conversation with you yesterday is confirmed by your letter. It leaves me with the impression that if there is a just cause for complaint, it is entirely due to a mistake.

I have re-read the telegram I sent home yesterday, with the tenour of which you are acquainted. I think it states the case fairly; if you do not think so, I shall be really

grateful to you to point out where it fails to do what I am sure we both desire. I have to-day read what purports to be the verbal report of the Captain of the schooner; his statement varies from what has apparently reached you, and from what I gathered previously, but to my mind the main point is unchanged. I do not quote that report, for I am not quite sure of its accuracy.

I have to thank you for your kind expressions, and beg to assure you that I am grateful for your consideration, and am, &c.

(Signed) G. TRYON.

No. 353.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 17, 4 P.M.)*

(No. 62.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, June 17, 1881, noon.*

THE concession referred to in your Lordship's telegram No. 29 appears to be opposed to Articles V and XVI of the Treaty of July 1875.

No. 354.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 563.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, June 17, 1881.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatches Nos. 560 and 564 of the 7th and 8th instant respecting the overhauling of the British vessels "Nuova Stella" and "Santa Maria" by the French gun-boat "Léopard" in Tunisian waters, and inclosing copies of your Excellency's communications with the French Government on this subject.

Before replying further to your Excellency's despatches, I think it advisable to await the further Report respecting the case of the "Nuova Stella," which you will see from Mr. Reade's despatch No. 73 of the 25th ultimo, a copy of which is annexed, the British Consular Agent at Sfax has been requested to furnish; and also any further particulars respecting the case of the "Santa Maria," in the hope of hearing that the vessels and cargoes have suffered no damage, and that the owners have no intention of putting forward any claims to compensation on this account, or on account of the detention of their respective vessels.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 355.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 18.)*

(No. 250.)

My Lord,

*Rome, June 15, 1881.*

BARON BLANC, in answer to an inquiry I made of him yesterday, informed me that the Decree of the Bey of Tunis, charging M. Roustan with all communications between the Tunisian Government and Foreign Powers, had been communicated to Signor Maccio, the Italian Consul, in common with his colleagues, that no answer had yet been returned, and that General Menabrea had been instructed to ascertain the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government upon this new phase in the Tunisian question.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 356.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 253.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 18, 1881.*

IN a conversation which I had with General Menabrea on the 14th instant, his Excellency inquired what were the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of

the position accorded to the French Representative in Tunis by the recent Decree of the Bey.

I informed his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have received from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General an intimation of the issue of this Decree, and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris had learned from the French Government that they have approved of their Representative accepting His Highness' nomination.

I said that Her Majesty's Government consider that this Decree does not affect the position which they have taken with regard to the present state of affairs in Tunis, nor does it in any way weaken their Treaty rights, the obligation to observe which has been recognized by the French Government.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 357.

*Mr. Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20.)*

(No. 1.)

My Lord,

*Tripoli, Barbary, June 9, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival here on the 28th ultimo of two Turkish ships of war conveying Nazif Pasha, the newly-appointed Vali of this province, and a General of Division, with two battalions of infantry, numbering about 1,600 men, as a reinforcement to the garrison; and preparations are being made for the accommodation of a still larger number of troops which, it is reported, will shortly be sent here.

It is generally believed that the late Vali, Izzet Pasha, has been suspended in consequence of the general maladministration by him of the Government, and especially on account of his having allowed M. Ferand, the French Consul-General here, to take under French protection a large number of Ottoman subjects without having attempted to check the abuse or report the matter to Constantinople.

I am informed that M. Ferand has, within the last few months, given French protection to some 200 Ottoman subjects natives of Tripoli. A Commission, appointed by the local authorities, is now investigating the matter.

The late events at Tunis would appear to have caused the Porte to look with considerable suspicion and apprehension on the activity of late displayed by the French here in this and other ways.

A line of French mail-steamers, subsidized by the French Government, has for some months been running between Tunis and Tripoli and the intermediate ports, and strenuous efforts were made, though unsuccessfully, to obtain a concession for laying a line of telegraph by land to connect Tunis and Tripoli.

On the 5th instant M. Ferand wrote to the Vali requiring that all natives of Tunis should be handed over to the protection of the French Consulate in accordance with an Article of the recent Treaty between France and the Bey of Tunis. The Vali refused to comply with this request, stating he had no instructions on the subject from the Porte. M. Ferand then caused notices in Arabic, with his signature and official seal attached, to be posted on the doors of the French Consulate, and in a public bazaar, calling upon all Tunisians here, numbering it is said about 5,000, to present themselves at the French Consulate to be registered, and I am informed about 150, chiefly Jews, have already done so.

The Vali remonstrated with M. Ferand on the subject, and requested that he should remove the notices, especially resenting the posting of the notice in the bazaar, but M. Ferand refused to remove them, stating he was acting on instructions from his Government.

The Vali, who was much irritated at these proceedings, had the intention of forcibly removing the notice in the bazaar, but having consulted me privately on the subject, I dissuaded his Excellency from doing so, as being likely to lead to further complications, and counselled prudence and moderation pending the receipt by him of instructions from the Porte.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 358.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 60.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, June 13, 1881.*

THE Prime Minister took his departure, yesterday, for France, in the French iron-clad "Jeanne d'Arc." He was accompanied by various members of M. Roustan's ordinary "entourage."

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 359.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 20.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 61.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, June 15, 1881.*

A FEELING of profound disappointment is manifested by the general body of Europeans at this place at the announcement by Havas that the Bey's Decree, appointing the French Minister as his intermediary for the transaction of all business between the Tunisian Government and foreign Representatives, has been accepted by the British Government.

That, independently of other considerations, a gentleman who has given so many proofs of hostility to everything English should be entrusted with the business concerns of so many thousand British subjects is regarded as eminently prejudicial to British interests.

Among a variety of acts of favouritism to the particular protégés of M. Roustan, a concession has been granted to a French subject named Daninos for the establishment of a bank or institution for advancing money on articles pawned, with exclusive privileges, for the term of fifty years.

Apart from the immoral character of this establishment, it appears to be in opposition to Treaty engagements.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

No. 360.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 37.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 20, 1881.*

GENERAL MOHAMED ELARABY ZAROUK, who states that he was formerly President of the Tunis Municipality, has requested me, in a letter of which I inclose a copy,\* to allow British protection to be granted to his family, whom he has left at Tunis.

I inclose a copy of the reply which I have caused to be addressed to the General, expressing my regret that it would not be in accordance with usage for Her Majesty's Government to place his family under British protection.†

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 361.

*Lord Tenterden to General Zarouk.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 20, 1881.*

I AM directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, requesting that the protection of Her Majesty's Agent at Tunis may be extended to your family, whom you have left in that city. I am to state, in reply, that Lord Granville much regrets to be unable to assist you in the matter, but that it would

\* No. 321 B.

† No. 361.



not be in accordance with usage that Her Majesty's Government should take your family under British protection.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 362.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 21.)

(No. 63.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, June 20, 1881.

THERE is only one way of amicably settling the Enfida case, and that is by partitioning the estate between the rival purchasers. Money will do nothing, Levy preferring an adverse sentence to being bought.

If French Government could be induced to agree to the suggested division of the property, the perpetration of a great injustice to a British subject would probably be averted.

No. 363.

Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22.)

(No. 179.)  
My Lord,

Alexandria, June 13, 1881.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 177 of the 7th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a notice issued by the French Consul here, which has been published by the local papers, calling upon all Tunisian subjects residing within his Consular district to register themselves at his office in accordance with the terms of Article VI of the Treaty of the 12th May last between the French Government and the Bey of Tunis.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) CHAS. A. COOKSON.

Inclosure in No. 363.

Newspaper Extract.

CONSULAT DE FRANCE À ALEXANDRIE D'ÉGYPTÉ.

*Arts.*—Aux termes de l'Article VI du Traité conclu le 2 Mai dernier entre le Gouvernement de la République et Son Altesse Sidi Mohammed Essadck, possesseur du Royaume de Tunis, les sujets Tunisiens et leurs intérêts sont, à l'étranger, placés sous la protection des autorités Consulaires Françaises.

En conséquence, les sujets Tunisiens résidant dans la circonscription du Consulat de France d'Alexandrie sont invités à venir se faire immatriculer au bureau du Drogmanat de ce Consulat. Ils devront au préalable se munir auprès de Saleh ben Dahman, ex-Agent de Son Altesse le Bey de Tunis, d'un certificat constatant leur identité et leur origine.

Il leur sera délivré un certificat d'immatriculation.

L'immatriculation et le certificat qui la constatera ne donneront lieu à aucune perception.

Le Consul de France,  
(Signé) DOBIGNIE.

Alexandrie, le 11 Juin, 1881.

No. 364.

Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 22, 1:30 P.M.)

(No. 64.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Tunis, June 22, 1881, 9:30 A.M.

GENERAL SY TAHER ZOUCHE, Chief Steward and Prime Minister-elect of the Heir-Apparent, having been dismissed from his office by order of the Bey, and being still

persecuted by his late master, has taken refuge at this official residence. I hope to bring this matter to an amicable settlement, having been promised M. Roustan's assistance to that effect.

No. 365.

Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.

(No. 32.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 22, 1881, 4:45 P.M.

YOUR telegrams Nos. 61 and 62 of 16th and 17th instant.

What are the exclusive privileges in concession to French subject Daninos?

No. 366.

Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.

(No. 33.)  
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 22, 1881, 7 P.M.

YOUR telegram No. 64 of 22nd.

What was the character of the persecution suffered by General Sy Taher Zouch; and was there any danger to life?

No. 367.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

E  
(No. 594. Confidential.)  
My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 22, 1881.

HER Majesty's Government think that it is desirable that your Excellency should take an early opportunity of speaking to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire with regard to the present state of the question of Tunis.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire cannot fail to acknowledge the friendly manner in which the question has been dealt with by Her Majesty's Government, and they think that they are therefore justified in appealing to him not to allow it to become, by the assertion of extreme rights or claims on the part of French Agents, a source of difficulty in the future.

The Government of France at the outset volunteered a disclaimer of any intentions of annexing or conquering Tunis, and they have since given Her Majesty's Government the most complete assurances that the Treaty rights of foreign nations will be respected.

So long as British subjects and commerce are not injuriously affected, there can be no reason why the interests of the two Governments should clash with each other. It is, however, impossible to overlook the fact that the position which France has assumed in Tunis is not easy to refer to any known rule or precedent, and that, unless an understanding is arrived at by friendly communications, complications may hereafter arise which it would be better to avoid.

The Decree of the Bey constituting the French Representative the sole intermediary between His Highness and the Representatives of other Governments, and the communication addressed to them by M. Roustan in consequence, took Her Majesty's Government by surprise. Although there may be no rule of international law which forbids such an arrangement, it cannot be considered apart from the circumstances with which it is in this case conjoined. Still Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General has been instructed to continue to transact business in the manner in which he has been used to do with the Government of Tunis, although there has been a change of persons, but when referred by that Government to M. Roustan for the expression of its views, to communicate with him accordingly.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire will see a further proof of the conciliatory disposition of Her Majesty's Government in these instructions. At the same time, it must be distinctly understood that Her Majesty's Government do not in any way waive any of their Treaty rights. They consent to allow Her Majesty's Agent to communicate with M. Roustan as the Bey's Delegate, but they do not thereby preclude themselves from taking any course which they may deem most advisable in case of an infraction of Treaty rights.

Her Majesty's Government do not know what may be the present views and intentions of the Government of France as to the continuance, in the same person, of the double functions now entrusted to M. Roustan as the official organ of communication between the Bey of Tunis and the Representatives of foreign Governments, and, at the same time, Consul-General of France. So far as the Consular office is concerned, the Treaty engagements between Great Britain and Tunis entitle this country to have its Consular Agents in Tunis received and treated upon a footing of strict equality with those of all other foreign countries, including, therefore, the Consul-General of France. Under these circumstances, it seems very desirable, in order to avoid questions and difficulties, which it is equally the interest of France and of Great Britain to obviate, that the person who, under the recent arrangements between France and Tunis, is to represent the Government of Tunis for the general purposes of its external relations, should not be the same officer, with whom, as Consul-General of France, the ordinary Consular business of this and other European nations (in which the exercise of the Consular jurisdiction must be deemed to be included) will have to be conducted. An arrangement by which the Consular functions of M. Roustan should be transferred to some other person would meet the case.

An instance of the difficulties to which the position of France towards Tunis might easily give rise has recently been reported by Her Majesty's Acting Agent in Egypt, who states that he has been informed that the French Agent has claimed to exercise protection over Tunisians in Egypt, amounting, as is believed, to several thousands. Her Majesty's Government had not anticipated, from the terms of the VIth Article of the recent Treaty with the Bey, that any general or formal announcement of this kind would be made to foreign Governments, especially to those within the Capitulations between Turkey and the different European nations, on which the Consular jurisdiction is founded, and it has appeared to them possible that the nature of the protection intended, and the consequences derivable from it might be misunderstood. Her Majesty's Government understand the VIth Article of the Treaty as being only an engagement that the good offices of the French Consular and other Agents in foreign countries should be used, as occasion may require, in favour of Tunisian interests and of the "nationals of the Regency;" and they assume nothing more to have been intended by the announcement to the Khedive's Government (if it has been correctly reported to them) than to inform the Khedive of this engagement; and particularly that it is not intended either to require from the Khedive's Government any change in the view of the nationality of Tunisians in Egypt, on which that Government has hitherto acted, or to bring Tunisians in Egypt, for the purposes of the Consular or any other jurisdiction, within any rule different from that hitherto in force with respect to them.

Her Majesty's Government feel assured that the same influences which have for so long maintained the relations between Great Britain and France on a footing of mutual confidence will continue to determine the policy of the two Governments; but they would not be doing their duty if they did not desire your Excellency to urge upon M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire the importance of enjoining upon the French Agents who are entrusted with the execution of the recent arrangements between France and Tunis, the necessity of prudent action.

In a case of this kind timely conciliation and friendly communication between the two Governments may avert serious difficulties.

Your Excellency will speak to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire in the sense of this despatch, using courteous language and explaining the friendly feeling with which Her Majesty's Government are animated in offering their observations.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 368.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 38. Extender.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 22, 1881.*

IN your telegrams Nos. 61 and 62 of the 15th and 17th instant, you refer to the concession which has been granted to M. Daninos as being opposed to Treaty stipulations. I have therefore to instruct you to inform me what are the exclusive privileges which are accorded in the concession.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 369.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 39. Extender.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 22, 1881.*

IN your telegram No. 64 of this day you inform me that the Chief Steward and Prime Minister Elect of the Heir Apparent having been dismissed from his office by order of the Bey, and being still persecuted by his late master, has taken refuge in Her Majesty's Consulate. I have to instruct you to report to me the character of the persecution suffered by General Sy Taher Zouch, and whether his life was in any way endangered.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 370.

*Earl Granville to Sir A. Paget.*

(No. 256.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 23, 1881.*

THE Italian Ambassador spoke to me this afternoon on the state of affairs in Tunis, and about the Decree of the Bey appointing M. Roustan to be his intermediary for the transaction of business with the foreign Representatives.

I told General Menabrea the substance of the instructions sent to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General with regard to this matter on the 11th and 15th instant, with which your Excellency is already acquainted.

Some conversation ensued, in which General Menabrea and I agreed that it would be a mistake that M. Roustan should continue to act as the French Consul in addition to exercising the new functions conferred upon him by the Bey.

I did not, however, inform his Excellency that we had made any representations to the French Government on the subject.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 371.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 62.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, June 17, 1881.*

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram No. 29 of yesterday, I beg to say that the concession referred to appears to be opposed to the VIth and XVIth Articles of the Treaty of 1875.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS F. READE.

No. 372.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24, 4.40 P.M.)*

(No. 65.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, June 24, 1881, 9.50 A.M.*

THE exclusive privileges to which I referred in the matter of the concession to M. Daninos consist chiefly in the fact that he is guaranteed against competition. Were the business open to all the world, no concession whatever was necessary.



*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 24.)*

(No. 620.)

My Lord,

*Paris, June 23, 1881.*

I HAD this morning the honour to receive your Lordship's Confidential despatch No. 594 of yesterday, directing me to speak to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire with regard to the present state of the question of Tunis.

I went in consequence to his Excellency this afternoon, and spoke to him in the sense of your Lordship's despatch, and as nearly as possible in the exact terms of it.

After mentioning the instructions given to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General respecting the appointment of M. Roustan as intermediary between the Tunisian Government and the foreign Representatives, I said that it must be distinctly understood that Her Majesty's Government do not in any degree waive any of their Treaty rights, that they consent to allow Her Majesty's Agent to communicate with M. Roustan as the Bey's Delegate, but that they do not thereby preclude themselves from taking any course which they may deem most advisable in case of an infraction of Treaty rights.

I remarked upon the double functions now entrusted to M. Roustan as the official organ of communication between the Bey of Tunis and the Representatives of foreign Governments, and at the same time as Consul-General of France, and I reminded M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire that, so far as the Consular Office is concerned, the Treaty engagements between Great Britain and Tunis entitle Great Britain to have her Consular Agents in Tunis received and treated upon a footing of strict equality with those of all other countries, the Consul-General of France included.

I proceeded to point out to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, in the terms of your Lordship's despatch, the inconvenience of the arrangement by which the person who is to represent Tunis for the general purposes of its external relations should be the same officer with whom, as Consul-General of France, the ordinary Consular business of Great Britain and other countries, in which the exercise of the Consular jurisdiction must be deemed to be included, will have to be conducted.

I adverted next to the claim stated to have been put forward by the French Agent in Egypt, to exercise protection over Tunisians in that country. I said that Her Majesty's Government understand the VIth Article of the recent Franco-Tunisian Treaty as being only an engagement that the good offices of the French Consular and other agents in foreign countries shall be used, as occasionally required, in favour of Tunisian interests and of the subjects of the Regency. Consequently, I added, Her Majesty's Government conceive that it is not intended to require from the Khedive's Government any change in the view of the nationality of Tunisians in Egypt on which that Government has hitherto acted, or to bring Tunisians in Egypt for the purpose of the Consular or any other jurisdiction within any rule different from that hitherto enforced.

Finally, I urged strongly upon M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire the importance of enjoining upon the French agents who are entrusted with the execution of the recent arrangements between France and Tunis the necessity of prudent action.

I need scarcely add that, in obedience to your Lordship's orders, I used throughout courteous language, and particularly explained the friendly feeling with which Her Majesty's Government were animated in offering their observations.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire readily acknowledged the friendly manner in which the Tunisian question had been dealt with by Her Majesty's Government, and averred that nothing could be further from his intentions than to allow the assertion by French agents of any extreme rights, which might be a source of difficulty in future. He fully reciprocated your Lordship's desire to come to an understanding by friendly communication in order to avoid future complications.

As regarded the communications between the Bey of Tunis and the foreign Representatives, he had, he said, already taken steps to remove a misapprehension which appeared to exist abroad. He had, in fact, drawn up a notice which would immediately be inserted in the newspapers, to the effect that the new arrangements were no impediment to personal communication between the Bey and the Representatives of foreign Governments at Tunis.

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire went on to say that he would not fail to take into consideration the observations I had made respecting the double character with which M. Roustan was invested.

He also promised to examine the question of the protection of Tunisian subjects in Egypt, and to send me a communication respecting it. He proceeded to ask me if I

knew whether, up to this time, there had been any Tunisian Consul in Egypt, and he observed that at Leghorn, where there had not been a Tunisian Consul, the Tunisians had been taken under the protection of the Consul of France. I reminded his Excellency that there were essential differences between the two cases; because, in the first place, there were in Egypt the questions of the Capitulations, and of Consular or other special jurisdiction; and, in the second place, because Egypt was a part of the Ottoman Empire.

In conclusion, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire said that no effort should be wanting on his part to enforce prudence on the French agents; and he avowed his entire concurrence in your Lordship's desire to avert difficulties by conciliation and friendly communication between the French and English Governments.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 374.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25.)*

(No. 621.)

My Lord,

*Paris, June 24, 1881.*

I HAD the honour to report to your Lordship, in my despatch No. 620 of yesterday, that M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire had told me that afternoon that he had drawn up, for communication to the newspapers, a notice to the effect that the appointment of M. Roustan as official intermediary between the Tunisian Government and the foreign Representatives formed no impediment to personal communications between the Bey and those Representatives.

I inclose herewith a notice which has accordingly appeared under the head of "Information" in the "Agence Havas," and which will, no doubt, be copied into other papers.

The notice states that the substitution of M. Roustan for the Prime Minister Mustapha-ben-Ismaïl, as official intermediary between the Bey and the Foreign Representatives, was made to simplify business, and to facilitate the control over the international acts of the Tunisian Government to be exercised by the French Resident in virtue of the recent Treaty.

It adds that there is nothing to prevent the foreign Residents from asking audiences of the Bey, as before, and continuing to see His Highness whenever he shall be willing to admit them to his presence.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 374.

*Newspaper Notice.*

AUX cours des débats récents auxquels les affaires de Tunis ont donné lieu dans le Parlement Anglais, on a élevé la question de savoir si la désignation de M. Roustan comme Délégué du Bey pour les relations officielles du Gouvernement Tunisien avec les Consuls étrangers était de nature à modifier le droit de ces derniers d'avoir directement accès auprès de la personne du Bey. Il est difficile de comprendre comment un doute a pu se produire à ce sujet. Lorsque le Bey a résolu de confier à M. Roustan les fonctions d'intermédiaire officiel de ses rapports avec les Consuls étrangers, fonctions antérieurement dévolues au Premier Ministre Mustapha-ben-Ismaïl, cette substitution de personne n'a été opérée que dans l'intérêt de la simplification des affaires, et afin de faciliter au Résident Français le contrôle que ce fonctionnaire, aux termes du Traité du 12 Mai, est tenu d'exercer désormais sur les actes internationaux du Gouvernement Tunisien. Mais une semblable mesure ne pourrait avoir pour effet d'altérer la nature des relations personnelles que le Bey a entretenues jusqu'à ce jour avec les différents Agents des Puissances étrangères à Tunis.

Rien n'empêche ces Agents de solliciter, comme par le passé, des audiences du Bey, et de continuer à voir Son Altesse, chaque fois qu'elle veut bien les admettre en sa présence. A ce point de vue, la situation n'a subi aucun changement, et ne pouvait en subir aucun.



(Translation.)

IN the course of the recent debates which the affairs of Tunis have called forth in the English Parliament, the question has been raised of ascertaining whether the designation of M. Roustan as the Bey's Delegate in the official relations of the Tunisian Government with the foreign Consuls was calculated to modify the right of these latter of having direct personal access to the Bey. It is difficult to understand how a doubt can have arisen on this subject. When the Bey resolved to entrust to M. Roustan the functions of official intermediary in his relations with the foreign Consuls, which functions devolved formerly on the Prime Minister Mustapha-ben-Ismaïl, this substitution was only effected in the interest of simplifying affairs, and in order to render easier to the French Resident the task of control which that functionary, according to the terms of the Treaty of the 12th May, is bound to exercise henceforth over the international acts of the Tunisian Government. But such a measure could not have the effect of altering the nature of the personal relations which the Bey has maintained up to the present time with the different Agents of foreign Powers at Tunis.

There is nothing to hinder these Agents from requesting audiences of the Bey, as in time past, and from continuing to see His Highness as often as he is willing to admit them to his presence. From this point of view the situation has not undergone, nor could it undergo, any change.

No. 375.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25.)*(No. 66.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Tunis, June 24, 1881.*

IN reply to your Lordship's query with respect to the General mentioned in my telegram No. 64, I have to state that, although holding papers acquitting him of all further responsibility with respect to his late connection with the Heir-Apparent, questions were raised respecting his past stewardship which, he believes, would have resulted in disastrous consequences to himself. Having been reinstated [?] as the [?] natural successor of the present Prime Minister, he was afraid also for his life. How far he may have been justified in this apprehension it is impossible to say. I undertook only to intercede for him in my private capacity and as a friend of the Heir-Apparent, and am happy to add that all differences between the two are satisfactorily settled, permission being accorded also for the General to leave the country if he should so wish.

No. 376.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 25, 7.40 P.M.)*(No. 67.)  
(Telegraphic.)*Tunis, June 25, 1881, 11.10 A.M.*

THE Sheikh-ul-Islam and Hanafy Tribunal are prohibited by an Edict of the Bey from adjudicating upon the Enfida case; the Meliky Court is directed by another Edict of His Highness to try and pronounce judgment upon the suit against Levy.

The interference of the Bey in the present instance is contrary to all precedent, and, as I have been assured by His Highness himself and by the Prime Minister, so irregular and improper, that on being appealed to by M. Roustan they have on repeated occasions been obliged to decline all interference in the matter.

No. 377.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 27.)*

(Télégraphique.)

*Constantinople, le 25 Juin, 1881.*

LE Gouverneur-Général de Tripoli d'Afrique vient de confirmer par courrier son télégramme dont je vous ai fait connaître le contenu par ma communication Circulaire du 12 courant.

La prétention des Consuls Français de prendre sous leur protection les Tunisiens résidant dans les autres parties de l'Empire, prétention, d'ailleurs, si mal accueillie par les

No. 376 A.

*Mr. Cookson to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27.)*

(No. 181.)

My Lord,

*Alexandria, June 18, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to report that in conversation with Riaz Pasha on the 16th instant I was informed by his Excellency that it was not the intention of the Egyptian Government to take at present any official notice of the claim made by the French Consular authorities to the protection of Tunisian subjects resident in Egypt, but that when any individual case occurred in which the question arose they would be guided by the result of the negotiations between France and Turkey.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed)

CHAS. A. COOKSON.

No. 376 B.

*Sir A. Paget to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27.)*

(No. 267.)

My Lord,

*Rome, June 24, 1881.*

M. MANCINI informed me yesterday that he had given leave of absence to Signor Maccio, the Italian Consul-General in Tunis, and that a Vice-Consul would remain in charge of the interests of Italian subjects in that city.

No answer, his Excellency said, had yet been returned to M. Roustan's communication. He had not yet heard from General Menabrea what reply, if any, had been made by Her Majesty's Government, with whom he was desirous of acting in the matter.

With reference to the position created for M. Roustan by the Bey's Decree, M. Mancini called my attention to the 1st Article of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between Italy and Tunis of 1868, according to which "all the rights, privileges, and immunities of which the Kingdom of Tunis accords at present, or may in future accord, or permit, under whatever title, the enjoyment to the Representatives, citizens, ships, and commerce of any other foreign Powers whatever, shall be understood as accorded *ipso facto* to the Representatives, citizens, ships, commerce, and navigation of the Kingdom of Italy."

A stipulation to the same effect, his Excellency observed, was contained in the English Treaty with Tunis, and he wished to know how the Representatives of Italy and England could now be said to enjoy the same "rights, privileges, &c.," which had been accorded to the French Representative.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed)

A. PAGET.

No. 376 c.

*General Menabrea to Earl Granville.—(Received June 27.)*

M. le Comte,

*35, Queen's Gate, S.W., le 26 Juin, 1881.*

VOTRE Excellence n'ignore pas que les derniers événements qui ont eu lieu à Tunis ont produit des altérations très sensibles dans la constitution de la Commission Financière.

Les Délégués Tunisiens, ayant perdu toute initiative, ne peuvent désormais que se soumettre aux exigences des Délégués Français, lesquels sont, ainsi, en mesure d'obtenir la majorité dans toutes les délibérations de la Commission, puisqu'ils peuvent toujours disposer de 5 voix sur 9, tandis que l'Italie et l'Angleterre ne pourraient compter respectivement que sur 2 voix, et, en tout, sur 4.

Dans cet état de choses, les délibérations de la Commission Financière ne peuvent être considérées que comme arrêtées d'avance; et il n'est pas improbable que les Délégués Italiens, d'après ce qu'ils ont fait entrevoir à M. Maccio, renoncent à leurs fonctions, vu qu'ils ne sont plus à même de les exercer qu'au prix de leur dignité et au préjudice des intérêts des créanciers qu'ils représentent.

En attendant, le Gouvernement Royal, tout en appelant mon attention sur ce qui précède, m'a exprimé le désir de connaître la ligne de conduite que le Gouvernement de la Reine a l'intention de suivre à ce sujet; et il m'a fait, en même temps, remarquer qu'il

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serait très utile d'établir, entre le Cabinet Anglais et le Cabinet Italien, une entente préalable sur cette question de la Commission Financière.

J'ai, par conséquent, l'honneur d'avoir recours à l'obligeance accoutumée de votre Excellence en la priant de vouloir bien me mettre à même de donner, à ce sujet, quelques renseignements à mon Gouvernement.

En vous remerciant à l'avance de la réponse qu'il vous plaira de me faire parvenir, je saisis, &c.

(Signé) L. F. MENABREA.

originaires de la Tunisie établis à Tripoli, ne manquera pas de soulever des incidents fâcheux. Nous l'avons dit, et nous le répétons, le Gouvernement ne saurait en aucune façon admettre l'ingérence étrangère dans ses rapports avec les Tunisiens, qu'il a de tout temps considérés et traités comme ses autres sujets.

Dans une lettre qu'il vient d'adresser à votre collègue de Paris M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire a soutenu, il est vrai, qu'il s'agissait d'une simple substitution de personnes; les Tunisiens résidant de l'Empire auraient été, d'après le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de France, protégés jusqu'ici par des Agents spéciaux; mais cette assertion n'est rien moins que conforme à la vérité. Je me réserve de vous écrire à part pour réfuter une thèse qui équivaut, pour ainsi dire, à la négation de l'évidence.

En attendant, je vous prie de signaler ce qui précède à Lord Granville, et d'insister encore une fois auprès de sa Seigneurie pour que le Cabinet Britannique veuille bien nous appuyer dans nos réserves qui, en même temps qu'elles sont destinées à sauvegarder les droits de notre auguste Souverain sur la Tunisie, ont pour objet de nous préserver des conflits de juridiction faciles à prévenir.

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No. 378.

*Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to Earl Granville by Musurus Pasha, June 27.)*

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 25 Juin, 1881,

SUITE à mon télégramme du 25 Juin.

En réponse à la lettre y mentionnée de M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Essad Pacha vient d'être invité à lui déclarer qu'il n'a jamais existé, ni ne pouvait exister dans l'Empire d'Agents spéciaux chargés de veiller aux intérêts Tunisiens, et reconnus en cette qualité par le Gouvernement Impérial. Il est de notoriété publique que le Pacha de Tunis a maintenu jusqu'ici ses liens de sujétion avec la Sublime Porte.

Je vous prie de voir Lord Granville pour lui exposer la vérité sur la situation. Votre Excellence est autorisée à demander officiellement à sa Seigneurie quel est l'avis du Cabinet Britannique sur la question légale soulevée par la prétention des Consulats Français de prendre sous leur protection les Tunisiens résidant dans l'Empire, lesquels, je le répète, ont été de tout temps traités comme les autres sujets de Sa Majesté.

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No. 379.

*Earl Granville to Consul-General Drummond Hay.*

(No. .)  
Sir,

Foreign Office, June 27, 1881.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 1, Political, of the 9th instant, and I approve the advice you gave to the Vali, as therein reported, not to remove by force a notice which the French Consul had caused to be posted in a public bazaar calling upon all Tunisians to present themselves at the Consulate for registration.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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No. 380.

*Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received June 28.)*

(No. 631.)  
My Lord,

Paris, June 27, 1881.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Journal Officiel" of this day, a Circular respecting the questions of Montenegro, of the Greek frontier, and of Tunis, which was addressed by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to the Diplomatic Representatives of the French Government abroad on the 20th instant.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LYONS.

*Extract from the "Journal Officiel" of June 27, 1881.*

M. LE MINISTRE des Affaires Etrangères vient d'adresser la Circulaire suivante aux Agents Diplomatiques du Gouvernement de la République Française:—

*"Paris, le 20 Juin, 1881.*

"Monsieur,—A l'avènement du Cabinet actuel (23 Septembre, 1880), trois questions extérieures étaient pendantes: c'étaient celles du Monténégro, des frontières Grecques, et de Tunis. Les deux premières étaient Européennes; la dernière ne regardait guère que la France. Aujourd'hui, qu'elles sont toutes les trois résolues heureusement, il serait peu nécessaire de rappeler les faits qui en ont amené le dénouement, et qui sont trop récents pour qu'on les ait oubliés; mais il peut être utile de préciser quelle a été dans ces questions diverses la politique de la France, et par quel principe elle s'est dirigée."

**AFFAIRE DE TUNIS (Mai 1880—12 Mai, 1881).**—Le nouveau Cabinet avait trouvé, au moment où il prenait les affaires, la question de Tunis déjà fort engagée; et la situation ne faisait que se compliquer chaque jour, par une suite d'incidents de nature à nuire à l'influence Française dans la Régence, et même à compromettre notre domination en Algérie. La France avait deux griefs: l'un remontait fort loin; l'autre était plus récent et plus grave.

Depuis de très longues années, notre frontière était perpétuellement inquiétée; nos tribus limitrophes de la Tunisie ne pouvaient jouir d'un seul instant de repos. Violations de territoire par des troupes Tunisiennes ou par des populations insoumises, incendies de forêts, contrebande de guerre, refuges donnés à des malfaiteurs, razzias, pillages de navires, vols de toute espèce, meurtres, assassinats, tous ces délits et tous ces crimes se multipliaient d'une façon intolérable; en dix ans, rien que les méfaits qu'on avait pu constater officiellement, de 1870 à 1881, se montaient à 2,379, c'est-à-dire à 250 environ par année. Le Gouvernement du Bey était absolument impuissant à empêcher ce mal invétéré, même quand il le voulait, ce qui n'arrivait pas toujours; et les réparations, quand nous en obtenions, étaient hors de toutes proportions avec les dommages, sans parler des atteintes constamment infligées à notre légitime prestige par l'impunité des coupables, qui parfois même profitaient de la connivence des autorités locales.

Un autre grief d'un tout autre genre exigeait de notre part une attention encore plus sérieuse. Depuis la conquête d'Alger, pendant près d'un demi-siècle, et sauf des dissentiments passagers, nous avions vécu en assez bonne intelligence avec la Tunisie; mais, dans le courant de l'année dernière, nos rapports s'étaient singulièrement altérés; et il était visible que, dans le Gouvernement du Bey, un parti, dominé par des conseils imprudents, s'était fait un système d'évincer les Français de toutes leurs entreprises, de méconnaître nos droits les plus authentiques, de fausser tous les contrats passés avec nous, de favoriser à nos dépens les rivalités les moins justifiées, de repousser nos réclamations les plus fondées, pour admettre sans aucune équité les prétentions les plus illégales de nos adversaires, de menacer les propriétés et les personnes par cela seul qu'elles étaient Françaises, d'accumuler les vexations et les avanies de toute sorte; en un mot, de miner en détail le crédit de la France à Tunis, pour arriver un jour à la supplanter et à mettre en péril la sécurité même de notre grande Colonie Africaine.

C'était là un état de choses qui ne pouvait pas durer indéfiniment: l'honneur, l'intérêt, la plus simple prudence nous faisaient un devoir d'y mettre un terme; mais par des considérations d'un ordre supérieur, la France n'avait cessé de montrer beaucoup de longanimité devant toutes ces machinations, qu'elle préférait ne pas encourager en y attachant plus d'importance qu'elles ne le méritaient. Elle hésitait encore, quand l'attaque inopinée des Khroumirs vint la décider, en ne lui permettant plus de tarder à venger le sang de ses soldats.

On sait ce qu'a été le résultat de notre rapide expédition. Grâce à l'énergie de notre jeune armée, sous la direction de chefs vigilants et habiles, les tribus insoumises ont été réprimées, presque sans effusion de sang. Dès lors, la France a pu conclure avec le Bey de Tunis le Traité du 12 Mai, qui nous procure les deux garanties nécessaires à la sécurité de notre Colonie d'Afrique: l'ordre sur notre frontière et l'alliance durable du Gouvernement Tunisien.

L'Europe a généralement rendu justice à toute notre conduite dans cette épineuse affaire; elle a compris que notre sollicitude obligée pour l'Algérie nous impose les obligations les plus étroites. Nous n'avons satisfait à ces obligations que dans la juste

limite, et rien de ce qui s'est passé ou se passera dans la Régence ne peut autoriser les alarmes de personne. La France est la seule des Puissances qui soit en contact immédiat avec la Tunisie; en réalité elle est la seule qui se trouve essentiellement intéressée à ce que sa voisine soit tranquille et prospère, en même temps que bienveillante à notre égard. Le Gouvernement Français a déclaré hautement qu'il ne veut ni annexion, ni conquête. S'il avait nourri ce dessein, il l'aurait dès longtemps réalisé sans la moindre peine, depuis cinquante ans que l'Algérie est à nous. Mais il n'est pas besoin de beaucoup de sagesse pour sentir que ce serait une énorme imprudence de joindre 2,000,000 de Mahométans de plus aux 3,000,000 d'Algériens que nous avons déjà assez de difficultés à gouverner et à maintenir en paix. Tout ce que nous voulons faire dans la Tunisie, c'est de l'aider, par notre concours éclairé et sincère, à s'assimiler de plus en plus les avantages de la civilisation.

Nous avons commencé dans l'Algérie cette œuvre ardue et glorieuse! nous la poursuivrons par d'autres moyens dans la Tunisie, non pas seulement au profit de la Régence, mais au profit de toutes les nations qui pourront avoir à traiter avec elle et avec nous. Encore une fois, ce n'est pas là une entreprise qui doive éveiller les jalousies dont on a voulu, bien à tort, effrayer notre patriotisme. Sûrs de nos bonnes intentions, nous avons la ferme espérance qu'on ne tardera pas à y ajouter foi.

**POLITIQUE GÉNÉRALE DE LA FRANCE DANS LES AFFAIRES DU MONTÉNÉGRO, DE LA GRÈCE ET DE TUNIS.**—Le seul principe dont la politique Française se soit inspirée dans les trois questions qui viennent de se clore, c'est le maintien de la paix. Comme personne au monde ne peut douter que la France ne prit les armes sur-le-champ, si le soin de son honneur ou la défense de ses intérêts bien compris venait à l'exiger, elle n'a aucun embarras à déclarer qu'elle veut résoudre à l'amiable toutes les questions internationales, où la raison peut se faire entendre à la place de la force. A nos yeux, la guerre, quelque juste qu'elle soit, est toujours une extrémité à laquelle les hommes d'Etat ne doivent recourir que dans le cas de la nécessité la plus irrésistible.

C'est par désir de la paix qu'après sept années d'isolement, suite de nos malheurs, la France avait consenti à se rendre au Congrès de Berlin, où M. Waddington l'a représentée si dignement. Par cette résolution louable, elle est rentrée dans le concert Européen, qui est la plus solide garantie de la paix entre les peuples. Comme conséquence, elle a pris sa part des grandes choses qui ont été accomplies en commun depuis trois ans. Quel tort ne nous serions-nous pas fait si nous nous étions tenus à l'écart, comme nous le recommandaient quelques hommes politiques, que l'événement même n'a peut-être pas encore éclairés. Pour nous, la conduite inaugurée par le vote unanime des Chambres le 7 Juin, 1878, était la vraie conduite; et nous nous sommes appliqués à la suivre, sans nous laisser entraîner à des condescendances qui auraient été de la faiblesse, ou à des ardeurs qui auraient été de l'imprudence. C'est encore par désir de la paix, et pour la maintenir fermement que nos vaisseaux se sont bornés à rester dans l'Adriatique et qu'ils ont refusé de se trop approcher des Dardanelles. Enfin, c'est par les mêmes considérations que nous n'avons pas voulu prendre à nous seuls, malgré toute notre sympathie, la responsabilité de la cause Hellénique. La paix du monde n'a pas été troublée, bien que la collision parût imminente dans l'une et l'autre de ces conjonctures.

En Tunisie, il nous était bien plus facile encore de rester pacifiques, puisque notre politique y était entièrement indépendante, et que nous n'avions à compter qu'avec nous-mêmes. L'expédition contre les Khroumirs a été surtout une répression de malfaiteurs; et nous n'avons jamais pensé à déclarer la guerre à la Régence. Son Altesse le Bey n'a pas tardé à comprendre nos intentions bienveillantes; il a consenti au Traité que nous lui propositions, et d'où il ne doit sortir que des bienfaits pour ses Etats, pour peu que son Gouvernement veuille se prêter à les recevoir. La France sentira, de son côté, les devoirs que sa supériorité matérielle et morale lui impose; elle aidera l'Administration Tunisienne à se régulariser, et elle favorisera de sa protection impartiale les entreprises que tenteront toutes les nations, dans un pays qui est naturellement très riche comme le prouve un glorieux passé, et qui leur offrira bientôt toute la sécurité désirable, dès qu'il se sera réorganisé.

En résumé, Monsieur, vous voyez que le Gouvernement de la République peut s'applaudir de ce qui a été fait dans ces trois questions; et ses agents diplomatiques, qui lui ont montré, ainsi que vous, leur zèle et le dévouement, peuvent se dire qu'ils ont concouru, pour leur part, au relèvement de la patrie et à sa grandeur renaissante.

(Signé) B. ST. HILAIRE.



No. 381.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 34.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Foreign Office, June 28, 1881, 6.15 P.M.*

YOUR telegram No. 67 of the 25th.

Have legal proceedings been instituted against Levy? If so, in what Court?

No. 382.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 610.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, June 28, 1881.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 620 of the 23rd instant, recording a representation which you had made to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, founded on the instructions contained in my despatch No. 594 of the 22nd instant in regard to the present state of affairs in Tunis, and M. Roustan's position as intermediary between the Bey and the foreign Representatives, and I approve of the language held by your Excellency on this occasion as reported in your despatch.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 383.

*Earl Granville to the Earl of Dufferin.*

(No. 460.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, June 28, 1881.*

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day and communicated two further despatches, of which I inclose copies, protesting against the claim of the French Agent to protect Tunisian subjects in Tripoli.\*

In support of the objections to this claim, Musurus Pasha pointed out the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin with regard to Montenegrin subjects. The 9th paragraph of Article XXIX of the Treaty provided that the merchant shipping of Montenegro should be under the Consular protection of Austria-Hungary; but by Article XXXI it was expressly stipulated that Montenegrins travelling in the Ottoman Empire should be subject to the Ottoman laws and authorities, according to the general principles of international law and the established usages as regards Montenegrins.

I replied that the two cases did not appear to me to be at all similar, inasmuch as the Austro-Hungarian Government had not made any such arrangement with Montenegro as that contained in the recent Treaty between France and Tunis with regard to the representation and protection of Tunisian interests in other countries.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 384.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)*

(No. 68.)

(Telegraphic.)

*Tunis, June 29, 1881.*

LEGAL proceedings have not yet been instituted against Levy. If cited to appear before the Meleky Court, he will refuse to attend, and protest against illegality of the proceedings.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30.)*

(No. 77.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, June 24, 1881.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram No. 28 of the 15th instant, instructing me as to the course I am to pursue in respect to my communications with the Bey's Government.

I understand from that instruction that, when referred by this Government to M. Roustan for an expression of his views on any particular subject, I am to communicate with him accordingly.

It will appear, however, from the official letter, of which I inclose a copy herewith, that, whether referred to M. Roustan for his opinion or otherwise, I am expected to receive communications from him on matters connected with the Municipal and other Departments of the Government, besides that which relates especially to foreign or political affairs.

Whether I am right in distinguishing between the present case and the circumstances to which your Lordship's telegram No. 28 directly applies I know not, but I trust I shall be pardoned for requesting to be furnished with some further instructions for my guidance in dealing with this and any other communication which M. Roustan may address to me on behalf of the Tunisian Government.

In the meantime, and notwithstanding the irregularity of the President of the Municipality appealing to another authority against the conduct of British subjects, without having first taken action against them at this Consulate-General, I shall require the parties complained of to pay the contributions due from them.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure in No. 385\*.

*M. Roustan to Mr. Reade.*

M. l'Agent et Consul-Général,

*Tunis, le 22 Juin, 1881.*

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer, au nom de Son Altesse le Bey, que quelques sujets Britanniques sont débiteurs envers la Municipalité de Tunis de certaines sommes représentant leurs parts contributives dans la construction de la Rue Sadekia, dont ils sont propriétaires riverains :—

	Piastres.
Le Sieur Jean-Marie Pisani doit à ce titre .. .. .	1,012½
Le Sieur Nino Mifsud .. .. .	675
Le Sieur Tabone .. .. .	1,044½
Le Sieur Galfato .. .. .	391½

Le Président de la Municipalité a vainement fait réclamer à chacune de ces personnes sa part respective de contributions.

Je vous serai, en conséquence, obligé de les inviter à s'acquitter de ce qu'elles doivent, et, à défaut, de les y contraindre par les moyens légaux dont vous disposez.

Agréez, &c.

Le Ministre Résident,

Délégué par Son Altesse le Bey pour les Relations Extérieures,  
(Signé) TH. ROUSTAN.

*Mr. Reade to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30.)*

(Extender of Telegram No. 64.)

My Lord,

*Tunis, June 22, 1881.*

GENERAL SY TAHER ZOUCHE, the Chief Steward and Prime Minister-elect of His Highness the Heir-Apparent, has taken refuge in this official residence. Having been dismissed from office by order of the Bey, he continues to be persecuted by his late master.

I hope to bring all his differences with the Heir-Apparent to an amicable termination, and to that end have been promised the co-operation of my French colleague.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) T. F. READE.

No. 386.

*Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.*

(No. 618.)

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, June 30, 1881.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 621 of the 24th instant, inclosing a copy of the notice referred to in your Excellency's immediately preceding despatch, as having been drawn up by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire for communication to the newspapers, to the effect that M. Roustan's appointment as official intermediary between the Tunisian Government and the foreign Representatives constitutes no impediment to personal communication between those Representatives and the Bey.

The explanation which this notice contains confirms the interpretation given by me in Parliament on the occasion of the debate on Tunisian affairs, as to the extent to which the privileges of foreign Representatives in Tunis were affected by M. Roustan's appointment and the new order of things in that Regency. The notification does not, however, meet the point to which allusion is made in my despatch to your Excellency No. 594 of the 22nd instant, with respect to the inconvenience which M. Roustan's present position may possibly create, in the transaction of business between foreign Representatives and the Regency.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 387.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Reade.*

(No. 41.)

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 30, 1881.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 61 of the 15th instant, relative to the concession granted by the Bey to M. Daninos, a French subject, for the establishment of a bank or pawnbroker's business, with exclusive privileges, I have to call your attention to a notice published by the French Havas Agency, to whom the information was, no doubt, communicated by the Foreign Department, stating that the concession was granted to M. Daninos in 1879, directly, and without the intervention of the French Consulate-General, and that it was formally stipulated that it did not constitute a monopoly.

I have to instruct you to furnish me with any observations that you may have to offer upon this announcement, which seem to be at variance with your telegram on the subject.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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